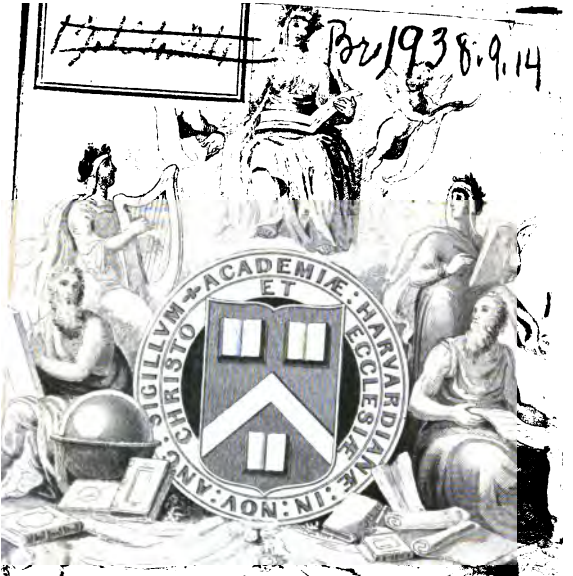

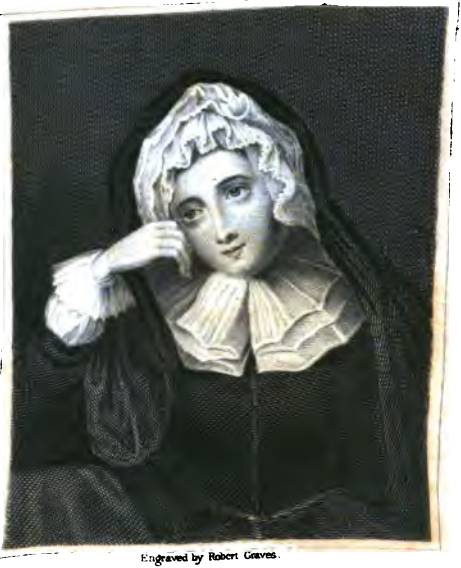

Engraved by Robert Graves.

LADY RACHEL RUSSELL.

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LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL.

[DOVE'S ENGLISH CLASSICS.]

LETTERS

OF

LADY RACHEL RUSSELL;

FROM THE

MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY AT WOBURN ABBEY.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

VINDICATING THE CHARACTER OF LORD RUSSELL
AGAINST SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, &c.

AND THE

TRIAL OF LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL

FOR HIGH TREASON.

LONDON:

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1826.

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Trial of Lord Russell.
Remarks on the Trial, by our best Historians and Lawyers.
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Letters of Lady Russell and others—with Copious Explanatory notes.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE good sense, tender affection, fortitude and religion, of Lady Russell, are eminently displayed in the following Collection of Letters; to which Dr. Birch often refers, in his life of Archbishop Tillotson, giving also two or three extracts. The letters were copied from the originals by Thomas Sellwood, who lived in her family, and dedicated them to the late Duke of Bedford. His manuscript, which is in the library at Woburn Abbey, being faithfully transcribed, permission was easily obtained to publish this illustrious monument of female virtue. May the example of a lady no less distinguished by merit than dignity, excite imitation! and may the conduct of the great be universally influenced by the maxim, 'that nobility derives its brightest splendour from solid piety!'

The letters are chiefly Lady Russell's; the others are from sundry persons, and some of the highest rank, to her. There are added from Birch, a few of Archbishop Tillotson's to her Ladyship, they being connected with some in this collection; these are distinguished by being placed within crotchets; and also her letter to King Charles II. after her husband's death. Notes are interspersed, to illustrate some passages of the letters, and make the readers better acquainted with the persons there mentioned.

Just as this Collection of Letters was going to the press, the second volume of Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs was published, in which, at the conclusion of his Preface, he pathetically expresses his concern at finding, in the French dispatches, Lord Russell intriguing with, and Algernoon Sidney taking money from, the court of Versailles. This patriotic gentleman, who declares, 'the Revolution was a work of absolute necessity,' doubtless must have been excessively mortified at the discovery, that Lord Russell, the object of love, admiration, and reverence, to himself, and every true Briton, had embarked in schemes, which his extreme delicacy judged unbecoming the exalted character that amiable nobleman had hitherto universally borne: yet his strict, self-denying regard to truth and justice would not permit him to suppress it. How laudable are such sacrifices of inclination and party! how rare such instances of impartiality in this degenerate age! Industriously to seek for materials at home and abroad, from enemies as well as friends, and then publish them, not to vindicate, but to impeach characters, which had been unsullied and revered for near a century of years; and of men, who had even sealed a life of patriotism, in the worst of times, with their blood!

However, from this, none can suppose him capable of concealing any letters or papers unfavourable to the opposite party. For the suppression of important facts in favour of particular characters and parties, is little less criminal than the absolute falsification of them; and such a violation of one of the first laws of history hath been the great source of the corruption of it.

Every lover of history must congratulate Sir John's reverence for truth, 'and his having had access to original papers, and procuring materials for his Memoirs, far superior to what any single person hath hitherto been able to obtain.' A few remarks, however, may be necessary, if it were only to alleviate the great distress of this ingenuous revolutionist, on the 'NEW FACTS' which these original papers have brought to light.

As for the Memoirs of James the Second, now in the Scots college at Paris, written by that Prince's own hand, and the state papers, &c. of the Stuart family, deposited at St. Germain's, could a real whig be suffered to copy and print them, very little credit can be paid to their contents, if we believe Sir John's own description of Charles and James. 'Charles made mere tools of his ministers, and even of his brother.'—'He broke faith with his people, by obtaining a great sum to support Holland against France, although he was under secret engagements with France to destroy it.'—At the very time he promised the Spaniards to call a parliament, he said to the French ambassador, 'I have no intention to call a parliament; these are devils who intend my ruin.'—'Charles, of all men, was certainly the most insincere.' Many other passages of the like kind might be cited in proof of Charles's being destitute of truth and all integrity.

The same may be justly said of his brother: while he was Duke of York, we see him, under his own hand, denying to the Prince of Orange, any attempt towards a treaty with France, though for months he had been promoting a treaty, even to the writing to Louis, and sending Col. Churchill into France to forward it.* Passing by numberless other instances: after he was exalted to the throne, at the very time that he boasted, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, of his entertaining the most liberal sentiments of toleration, he congratulated Louis on his revoking the edict of Nantz, and 'heard with pleasure,' his dragooning the Protestants to convert them.† Such was his regard to truth, that, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated May 18, 1687, he says, 'he had resolved to give liberty of conscience to all Dissenters whatever, having been ever against persecuting any for conscience sake.' Sir John could have illustrated this assertion, and might have produced numerous instances in proof, how, under James's auspices, persecution triumphed for many years through all Scotland. Protestants must have strong faith, or rather altogether embrace Popery, before they can give much credit to any other letters and popish memoirs of that family.

Sir John Dalrymple hath also, unhappily, by his great

* Dalr. vol. ii. p. 239, 251. † Ibid. p. 177.

candour, shaken the credit even of his own Memoirs. In his Preface to the second volume, he acknowledges, 'Some of the following papers contradict facts contained in the first volume; the truth of which I believed on the credit of other publications.' Surely he should have pointed out the facts which he found to be false. Ought he not to have corrected the groundless relations of the first volume, by the private papers and letters of the actors of those times, with which he hath since been favoured? Every reader of his Memoirs is now at an absolute uncertainty to what page or particular he must give credence: he still finds, indeed, that Algernoon Sidney is charged with being a pensioner of France, and Lord Russell with intriguing with a French Ambassador; and the evidence is so conclusive with Sir John, though proceeding from the testimony of an interested Papist, one who was an enemy both to the religion and liberties of England, and confessedly a man destitute of reputation and principle, that, besides publishing this to the world, as a fact not to be denied, he declares, that such was his sensibility and concern for the English Patriots on this account, 'he felt very near the same shock as if he had seen a son turn his back in the day of battle.' Compassion to his readers ('tis presumed) prevented his describing the greatness of the shock which he felt, on finding the Earl of Arran, Lord Annandale, Lord Ross, and many other Scottish peers, intriguing with the Court of St. Germains to overturn the government after the revolution. A man of Sir John's sensibility could scarcely have sustained another shock, which he must also have felt, at the discovery of a number of the Scotch nobility treacherously offering to take the oaths to King William, which they had before refused; and actually swearing allegiance to him, on purpose the more effectually to dethrone him.

It is a piece of justice to Sir John, to say, he hath acknowledged,* that when he wrote his Memoirs he too easily gave credit to a paper concerning Lord Shaftsbury, in the paper-office, written by one Massal, whom, on a complaint from that nobleman's descendants, he really found to be a man of so bad a character, as not worthy of the least credit, and accordingly hath retracted what he hath taken from it. But if the necessary corrections have been made, only by the help of his own materials, it is also presumed, either that we should not have still read in the Memoirs (or the assertions would have been much softened)——'That the Popish plot was a mere contrivance of Lord Shaftsbury; who, void of all feeling, and without remorse, saw prisoners led to death for charges which himself had contrived.† That the Dissenters of England, in general, were ripe for attaching themselves to the party of James,‡ That the legitimacy of the Pretender was ascertained and proved by forty witnesses, all persons of the highest rank, and of the most unquestionable credit, in matters which fell under cognisance of their senses; and that the birth being an imposture, was

* Vol. ii. p. 324. † Memoirs, p. 43, 45.
‡ Ibid. p. 168, 169.

a lie of party, and the prejudices of the vulgar.* That Admiral Russell offered to betray the fleet to James, and favour his invasion of England.† A hundred other party insinuations, and futile groundless charges, might be produced from Sir John's Memoirs and the Appendix; but to notice them here would be digressing too far. The grand design being to vindicate the character of the noble Lord, the husband of that excellent lady, whose letters are now tendered to the public.

Sir John Dalrymple, from the full conviction of his having placed too implicit a faith in a paper in our own paper-office, respecting Lord Shaftsbury, if there had been no other instances, ought to have suspected, that in his Memoirs he had too readily admitted the authenticity of the French papers concerning Lord Russell and Sidney. Should he not have well considered the nature of the evidence, a single, interested unprincipled man; the distance of time (near a hundred years); the opportunity of fabricating or altering; the inclination some in France might have to set the British friends of liberty in an odious light, with their implacable aversion to protestantism, and the rights of subjects? And should he not have transcribed the papers himself, and had a friend to have seen and examined the vouchers with him, and so far at least have authenticated the copies? Besides, if they were genuine, was there not some reason to suspect, that Barillon and Courtin might exaggerate to raise their master's opinion of their address and conduct; and take advantage of the patriots being on their own principles against a war with France, to represent it as a consequence of their influence? The same may be observed of the account of money distributed among the male-contents, in which, 'tis very remarkable, there is no mention of any sum given either to Lord Shaftsbury or Lord Howard, though both of them were determined opponents to King Charles's measures;

* Memoirs, p. 179, 213.

† Memoirs, p. 497, 498. No evidence is produced of this, but Fenwick's, though so roundly asserted.—So Sir John places more faith in Father Huddleston's single evidence, that Charles the Second was not reconciled to the Church of Rome till his last hours, than in all other testimonies. Fenwick charged also Lord Shrewsbury; but as Shrewsbury says, in his letter to King William, "'Twas an impudent and unaccountable accusation.'—Fenwick was pressed in the House of Commons by Admiral Russell himself, and others, to be ingenuous, and boldly produce his proofs; his answers were nothing but wretched evasions; which induced Lord Cutts to say, 'I think there is no one person he hath named, but is eminently known or believed to be in the interest of the government, and none but what are in some places of trust or employment. I think it highly necessary, therefore, to know how it came to pass that he hath had so much conversation with persons of that character, and none with those people that he hath been seen daily to converse with; and if he hath, why he hath not discovered them, as he has done the rest.' 'Till other papers are produced, this charge of Fenwick's will still be considered as the wicked artifice of party to perplex the King, and blacken and ruin some of his best servants, and most faithful friends.

and the latter, Smollett calls an abandoned nobleman, who sought only to gratify his own interest and ambition. Surely, such a one would have been offered, and he might not have refused, a present; but the steady patriots, men celebrated as staunch friends to virtue and to their country, these we find peculiarly marked in the Frenchman's lists. But it is worthy of observation, Sir John hath placed Sidney as a pensioner in two lists, while he hath only given us the French voucher, or copy of one.

The candid reader will here indulge a sentence or two, concerning Lord Russell's virtuous friend and fellow-martyr, Sidney: Charles himself considered him as '*un homme de cœur et d' esprit*,' and (if every paper in Sir John's compilation must be considered as gospel) he had before Sidney's return to England consented to his being allowed a pension by Louis XIV. Granting the charge brought against him (though there is not the least proof of its being received, or any collateral evidence to support it) what crime could there be in his receiving the present, provided nothing was required of him in return, inconsistent with his principles, and the liberties of his country? That he was a man of real honour and generous sentiments, incapable of base actions, is evident, even by Barillon's own letters; by his having been the cause also of preventing a scheme to assassinate Charles in his youth; and by every action of his life, till he fell a victim to tyranny. Barillon bears witness, that 'Sidney always appeared to him to have the same sentiments, and not to have changed maxims.' If Sir John, on the single evidence of a popish enemy, really believed Sidney to have received the money, yet the candour of an impartial historian, the friend of virtue and his country, would have suggested to his readers, it probably was not for himself, but for Mr. Aaron Smith and his poor Scots friends, to engage them to join the patriots of England, whose views and political objects were at that time the same with the Court of France. Each disliked too close a union between England and Holland; each wanted the parliament to be dissolved, but the popular party, in hopes to gain new strength in another election; and they knew that a dissolution of parliament could only 'come from the help of France;' each wanted the army of twenty thousand men to be disbanded; the patriots, lest the army should confer upon the sovereign absolute power, and change both the religion and government of the kingdom; each wanted to pull down Lord Danby;—the French, because he had turned against them; the patriots (not 'for the same reason for which every opposition wishes to pull down every minister,' but) because he had been the principal agent in conducting Charles's infamous money negociations with the Court of France, and because he had been the promoter of corruption in parliament, and of arbitrary power in the state.

Sir John hath fully proved, that Barillon was duped to an extraordinary degree by Lord Sunderland, in the reign of James the Second; why not by Lord Russell and Sidney also, in that of Charles the Second? And he certainly was, the more effectually to support an opposition to the arbi-

trary views of the court. Besides, what juster ground is there for reflection on their characters, for making France subservient to the true interests of their country, than on Sir John Dalrymple* (afterward Earl of Stair) and the other patriots who intrigued with Holland, and thus produced the glorious revolution? If Sidney received money, he certainly did it with disinterested views, and applied it to worthy uses. A year after the account of his taking it, Barillon, the accuser, thus writes to his master, 'That Sieur Algernoon Sidney is a man of great views and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republic.'† Sir John may therefore hush his troubled spirits, and depend on never having the violent shock repeated. But why should he ever have been shocked at all? He cannot say that Sidney ever acted for the interests of France, opposed to those of England, nor doth even the French Memorials he hath produced: but till other evidence is produced of Sidney's being a French pensioner, than that of a perfidious French minister, who was also the paymaster, and came to England poor, but returned rich, it is more reasonable to conclude that Barillon embezzled and pocketed what he placed to Sidney's account, or wrote his letter with a design to impose upon his master, or that it hath been foisted into the *dépôt* to mislead posterity. The Frenchman being in so close a connexion with both Charles and James, when that great man's death brought such an odium upon them, this money connexion would certainly have been exposed to remove it. The man who disdained even to ask his life of one unprincipled king, and pistoled his horse rather than it should be rode by another, could never accept of a paltry pension from him; the fact in every view is totally inadmissible.‡

Now let us proceed to Lord Russell. Had he engaged in a criminal intercourse with France, as Danby, his enemy,

* The author of the Memoirs cannot be descended from that worthy patriot, his name-sake, who was deputed by the Scotch parliament to make a tender of the crown to King William and Queen Mary.

† Vol. ii. Append. p. 287.

‡ So is Sir John's other charge against him as a *determined Deist*. (Vol. i. p. 81.) Hath he not read the writings, or even the dying apology of Sidney?—'God will not suffer this land, where the gospel has of late flourished more than in any part of the world, to become a slave of the world. He will not suffer it to be made a land of graven images; he will stir up witnesses of the truth, and in his own time spirit his people to stand up for his cause, and deliver them. I lived in this belief, and am now about to die in it. I know my Redeemer liveth; and as he hath in a great measure upheld me in the day of my calamity, hope that he will still uphold me by his Spirit in this last moment, and giving me grace to glorify him in my death, receive me into the glory prepared for those that fear him, when my body shall be dissolved. Amen.'—Is there no letter in the *depôt* from Barillon, concerning the deaths of Sidney and Russell? It is to be wished that Sir John's good interest would procure free access for another friend to truth, liberty, and the people, to inspect the *dépôt des affaires étrangères* at Versailles, and King William's Cabinet at Kensington.

received timely intimations of the design of Rouvigny's journey from Montague, can we suppose he would have escaped with impunity at that time, or would not use have been made of it against him at his trial, where (Smollett owns) the laws against treason were wrested for his conviction? So insufficient was the charge and evidence in support of it, that even Lord Essex's death was urged as a presumption, or rather enforced as a proof, of Lord Russell's guilt.* Besides, can it be conceived that Rouvigny, his intimate friend, cousin-german to his lady, and a strict Protestant, would attempt to engage Lord Russell (whose reputation for inflexible integrity, and zeal for his religion and the liberties of his country, were then well known) in measures prejudicial to his honour, and the public good; or tending to introduce popery, to make the King absolute, and subject the nation to France? Rouvigny could never be sent on such an errand; he would not have accepted the commission: farther, had he deceived Lord Russell, or drawn him into any dishonourable practices subversive of the constitution, or so much as unfavourable to the liberties of his country, there would not have subsisted so steady a friendship between him and Lady Russell, which, as her letters shew, lasted till her death. Neither can he be suspected of aiming to enslave England, the bulwark of the Protestant cause; as a few years after, he manifested his zeal for religion, by quitting his country and interest there, and entering into the service of King William; who, instead of complaining of his former conduct, received him with open arms, and created him Earl of Galway. Lord Russell's behaviour afterward had also the approbation of parliament, and was a great inducement with King William to confer the ducal title on his father. However, to form a clear judgment of the matter in question, let us take a sketch of the intrigues and views of Charles, James, their ministers and adherents, and afterward inquire into the part said to be acted by Lord Russell; which, from even Sir John's own evidence, instead of reflecting disgrace on, or tarnishing the character, will rather add to the honour of that real and illustrious patriot.

Anno 1664. Smollett assigns as Charles's motive to the Dutch war, that he should be able to convert part of the supplies granted for the maintenance of it, to his private use, as his prodigality always kept him necessitous.—Colbert writes to Louis, 1669, 'Charles said that he would still augment as much as possible his regiments and companies, under the most specious pretexts he could devise; he told me, he was pressed to declare himself a Catholic; and besides the spiritual advantages he should draw from it, he believed it to be the only means of re-establishing the monarchy.'†

1669. Charles engaged in a secret treaty with France, by which he was to declare himself a Catholic, be furnished with 200,000*l.* by France, and assisted with troops and money, as often as there should be need, in case his sub-

* Smollett, by mistake, says, Essex was found murdered the morning of Russell's *execution* instead of *trial*.

† Dalr. vol. ii.

jects should not acquiesce with the said declaration, but rebel. France and England were to make war against Holland and Hamburgh: France to pay Charles 800,000*l.* annually, towards the expense; the government of the States General to be dissolved, and a division made of the conquests, of which France was to have the greater share. In 1670, Colbert mentions Charles's ratification to have been the King's signature and seal, and a letter by his hand. He kept the real treaty secret from his ministers, proposed *un traité simulé* (omitting the article respecting his declaring himself a Roman Catholic), to which the Protestant ministers, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale, were to be parties.* The treaty being finished, there appear in the dispatches, strokes of that proud, arbitrary, vindictive disposition, and contempt of parliaments, in the Duke of York, which afterward drew ruin upon him.

1671. Colbert writes, 'The Duke of York told me in confidence, that affairs are at present here in such a situation, as to make him believe that a King and a Parliament can exist no longer together. That nothing should be any longer thought of than to make war with Holland, as the only means left, without having recourse to parliament, to which they ought no longer to have recourse, till the war and the Catholic faith had come to a happy issue, and when they should be in a condition to obtain by force, what they could not obtain by mildness.'—Both the above treaties were helped on by money from France, given to the King's ministers, and for the most part with his knowledge: the cabal became sensible of the danger they were exposed to by these treaties with France, and therefore attempted to lessen that danger, by sharing it with the King's former friends.† Colbert, in 1672, says of the cabal, 'They see that all their safety lies in strengthening the authority of the King their master.' A Prince (says Sir John) who betrays, and consents to the corruption of his own ministers, must expect to be betrayed by them. Colbert boasts, 1673, 'France has prevailed with Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence, and assures him of troops against his subjects.' Charles assured Colbert, that Louis's sentiments had always more power over him, than all the reasonings of his most faithful ministers. The treaty of 1676 was executed in a mode that shews the miserable state to which an English Prince may be reduced, who thinks it is possible for him to have an interest of his own, separate from that of his people.‡

Rouvigny writes in 1676, that 'Charles's ministers were afraid to be parties to the new money treaty with France; Charles could not trust an affair of that importance to his secretaries (Coventry and Williamson); he therefore copied the instrument himself, and signed and sealed it in Rouvigny's presence. The King of England is in a manner abandoned by his ministers, even the most confidential. The Duke of York is entirely in your Majesty's interest. All England is against your interests; and there is only the King and Duke of York who embrace them with affection.' The 500,000 crowns which Louis secretly gave

* Dalr. vol. ii. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Charles in the year 1674, to prorogue his parliament till April 1675, saved France from the possibility of an English armament in the campaign of the year 1675, and the above-mentioned secret pension, made him secure of Charles's baffling the attempts of his parliament, to engage him in a war with France, in the campaign of the year 1676.*

The sessions 1677, was opened with Charles's becoming the instrument of bribing his own subjects with French money, to prevent a French war. Courtin, 1677, says, 'To my knowledge, Charles has distributed all the money he received from my hands, to gain the votes he stood in need of;' and he urges as a reason for France distributing money among the members of parliament, that Spain and the emperor were sending money to be distributed among them on the other side. That he had offered Charles a pension of 500,000 crowns to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, and with the assistance of Louis's forces to maintain Charles's authority. His words are, 'His Majesty (Louis) being always ready to employ all his forces for the confirmation and augmentation of his (Charles's) authority, he will always be master of his subjects, and will never depend upon them.' Charles offered for 800,000 crowns to prorogue the parliament till the end of April 1678; but at last agreed to accept two millions of livres, though he wanted it to be nett 200,000*l*. Courtin writes again, 'I can answer for it to your Majesty, that there are none of your own subjects who wish you better success in all your undertakings than these two Princes do (Charles and James); but it is also true, that you cannot count upon any, except these two friends, in all England.'†

The court party (in parliament) consisted chiefly of needy cavaliers, and men of desperate fortunes, who received pensions from the government, and devoted themselves to the most arbitrary measures of the crown. Many members were irritated into opposition by disappointments in their expectations from the court, and others by the pernicious conduct of the administration. The French King knew he was master of one argument which would always have weight with such a necessitous and prodigal Prince as Charles. A stipulation of conditions was proposed, in consideration of which, the King of England should forbear from declaring in favour of the allies, notwithstanding the importunity of his parliament.—The treaty was carried on by Montague the English Ambassador at Paris, who demanded 200,000*l*. a year while the war should continue; but Courtin, who resided in London, prevailed upon Charles to rest contented with two millions of livres; Montague afterward received instructions from Danby to insist upon the King's receiving from Louis 600,000 livres annually, for three years after the peace should be ratified, on the supposition that he could expect no supplies from parliament for that period.‡

The subsequent proceedings of Charles and James, will prove their love to their country, their excellent dispositions, and how worthy of the veneration, confidence, and obedience of the people! Louis having refused to deliver

* Dalr. vol. ii. † Ibid. ‡ Smollett.

up the Spanish towns in Flanders according to promise; Charles seemed inclined to a French war.—But it is probable that he meant to make use of this apparent inclination for war, only to keep up his forces, to awe the people, to get money from Parliament, and to squeeze more money from France. The journals of Parliament during this summer and autumn shew his struggles not to disband his army, and to get more supplies under the pretence of his intending to join in a war against France.* In 1679, Charles, being abandoned by France, was obliged to assemble a new parliament, to disband all his new raised army, to send his brother into Flanders, and to trust the conduct of his affairs to a council, composed of many of those who had been his most violent opposers. The Duchess of Portsmouth told Barillon, 'It was to get money from Parliament by that means, and through fear of the popular party.' 6th July, 1679, Barillon mentions Charles's discourse at a secret meeting, in which that Prince, in very abject terms, begged the protection of France from his new council, and from Parliament, and laid the blame of his late difference with France, upon his brother and Lord Danby. 'The end of this long discourse was, to press me to represent to your Majesty what was passing here, and to conjure you on his part, to incline to put England under your dependence for ever.' Charles at this time formed two hundred of his disbanded officers into a company of guards, with a view to have officers ready, if he should afterward raise troops. But Lord Essex, one of his faithful ministers, wrote to him an excellent letter, pressing him to disband them.

August, 1679, a secret money treaty was made with France, Charles engaging not to assemble a Parliament for three years, and after that time not till Louis should give him leave; Charles to have a million of livres per annum for three years. Barillon writes, that Charles's expressions were, 'That your Majesty (Louis) might remain in the most glorious state that any King has been in for many ages, and put it out of the power of England ever to hurt you. This Prince (Charles) repeated afterward all that he had so often said to me of the advantages which your Majesty might derive from having England always dependent on you. The Duchess of Portsmouth said, if your Majesty will give four millions a year for three years, the King of England will enter into all the engagements your Majesty can desire. The Duke of York hopes your Majesty will consider that his religion and his attachment to France, are the sources of the opposition which he meets with in England. I know by all that has been said to me, that if the sum was agreed upon, there would be no difficulty about the rest, that is to say, they would give your Majesty a carte blanche upon every thing you could desire, and they would enter into all sorts of engagements not to make any treaty with foreign Princes without your consent, and even oblige themselves to enter into all your interests, and to favour all your designs.'†

1680. The Commons, instead of complying with Charles's demand for the relief of Tangier, recapitulated all the in-

* Dalr. vol. ii. † Ibid.

stances of misconduct which his whole reign afforded. Some of the members plainly said, that should they grant a sum of money for this service, it would in all probability be converted to another use; that although above a million had been raised for a new navy, the King had not built one single ship; that two millions, granted for the support of the triple alliance, had been employed to destroy that connexion, and that the King had received a million to wage war with France, at a time when he was under a secret engagement with Louis to effect a pacification. They drew up a remonstrance, representing the danger to which the nation was exposed, from the favour shewn to Papists; and insinuating, that the King was concerned in a conspiracy against the Protestant religion, and the liberties of his people.* Barillon writes, Aug. 1680,—'The Duke of York's design is, that things should be brought to extremities, and come to an open rupture. He is persuaded that the royal authority can be established in England only by a civil war. By this he thinks to prevent the danger with which he is threatened.' Charles hastily struck up a treaty with France, March, 1680-1, and a few days after dissolved his parliament, with a resolution never to call another. Even private persons in Britain were prevented by French money at this time (June, 1681), from interposing against the encroachments of France. After the strict union which was formed between Louis, Charles, and the Duke of York, by the private verbal treaty of the year 1681, Louis, 'tis said, became indifferent about keeping up his connexions with the popular party in England.†

1683. Such an arbitrary and cruel administration as now took place, Smollett observes, 'could hardly fail to produce designs against the government in a nation, abounding with people who entertained (even the most extravagant) notions of liberty.

1684. At this period Charles reigned as absolute as any monarch in Christendom, and his government was sullied with numberless instances of partiality and oppression. Cruelty was not natural to his disposition, and therefore we must impute them to the sanguinary temper of his brother; which he had not resolution enough to restrain. Charles being himself unprincipled, he believed mankind were false, perfidious, and interested, and therefore he practised dissimulation for his own convenience. He was strongly attached to the French manners, government, and monarch; he was dissatisfied with his own limited prerogative; the majority of his own subjects he despised or hated. In these sentiments, he could not be supposed to pursue the interest of the nation; on the contrary, he seemed to think that his own safety was incompatible with the honour and advantage of his people.‡

1685. After Monmouth's rebellion was quelled, and the parliament had settled a vast revenue upon James, he still continued, as Barillon relates, to beg a subsidy from France; and towards the end of his reign, there were three popish regiments in England regularly paid by France.§ His various attempts against the liberties and

* Smollett. † Dalr. vol. ii. ‡ Smollett. § Dalr. vol. ii. p. 257.

religion of the people, are too well known to need any repetition or illustration here; and we have an undeniable proof of James's cruel and vindictive disposition in his own letters to the Prince of Orange, concerning the trials and execution of those whom he called conspirators. The good Baronet endeavours indeed to excuse him respecting his sanguinary temper, and the shocking barbarity of Jefferies in the West of England, saying, 'It is certain, that when Lord-Keeper North made complaints what Jefferies was doing, James gave orders to stop them;'* but it is yet more certain, that he knew of his conduct from day to day, during the whole time of the circuit, and was accustomed to repeat his infamous tool's cruelties with jocularity. In two of his letters to the Prince of Orange are these expressions:—Sept. 10, 1685, 'Lord Chief Justice (Jefferies) is making his *campaign* in the west, and when the Parliament meets, some of the Peers which are in custody will be tried.' Sept. 24, 1685, after speaking of the fox-hunting and stag-hunting, he says, 'As for news, there is little stirring, but that Lord Chief Justice has almost done his *campaign*; he has already condemned several hundreds, some of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations.'† And immediately after his campaign was ended, to reward his glorious and pleasing services, James made him Lord High Chancellor.‡

1688. Every individual, whether Whig or Tory, who knew the value of liberty, and was attached to the Protestant religion, now plainly saw, that without an immediate and vigorous opposition to the measures of the King, the nation would be reduced to the most abject state of spiritual and temporal subjection. And,

1689. The Parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them—to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns: and the attainders of Lord Russell, Algernoon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and the Lady Lisle, were reversed.§

After this brief review of the arbitrary dispositions, the infamous transactions and Popish designs of the royal bro-

* Mem. p. 142. † Dalr. vol. ii. p. 165, 166.

‡ Lord Delamere acquaints us, that from the first notice King James had of the Prince of Orange's design, he courted and even humbled himself to those very people whom before he would not admit into his presence; he followed his army in person, only to expose himself more, and give the clearer evidence of his cowardice; for before he came within forty miles of the enemy, away he ran as fast as if his whole army had been routed. His fear so multiplied every thing that was against him, that at any rate he would be gone, and save his life, though at the price of his honour, and three kingdoms; so that if all were true that is reported of his former prowess, yet he seems therein to have forced himself and acted a part; for it could not be the effect of courage and resolution; and, upon the whole, never man (even Nero himself) shewed so much fear in any case, as King James did in that matter.—This verifies the observation, That cruelty and cowardice are generally united.

§ Smollett.

there, Charles and James; we may, without the least pain for the event, or any apprehension of a disagreeable shock, examine into the charge against Lord Russell, on account of his French connexions. We have seen what great and just cause he had to be apprehensive for the civil and religious liberties of his country; which true patriotism, not ambition, excited his endeavours to secure. There was too much reason to fear that Charles, James, and Louis, had combined against them. To divide their interests, and defeat the evil consequences of such a union, it was necessary to get acquainted with their schemes. A favourable opportunity offered; the 4th of November, 1677, the Princess Mary was married to the Prince of Orange, Louis disgusted at it stopped the pension, then Charles revoked the prorogation, and ordered the parliament to meet immediately: but France aimed a yet more important blow against Charles, for having brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage. 'For she entered (says Dalrymple) into the most dangerous intrigues with the popular party in parliament against him.'

Upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange, and the side which Charles immediately after seemed to take against France, the court of France and a great part of the popular party in parliament in England, as already observed, came to have the same political objects. Sir John reasons thus:—'It was the interest of Louis to prevent a union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get 20,000 English troops disbanded, which had been raised against him, to the astonishment of Europe, in the short space of six weeks; to have a parliament dissolved which had repeatedly addressed Charles for a war against him, and to overturn a minister who had of late continually urged his master to the same war.' For this last, vide 'Danby's Letters.'—The popular party again dreaded, in the strength which that union and the army would confer upon their sovereign, the loss of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parliament, chosen in a popular ferment, to gain new strength to themselves, and they wished to pull down Lord Danby for the same reason for which every opposition wishes to pull down every minister. These circumstances of accident led the way to a connexion between the popular and the French interests.* There is something so *very singular* in this representation of the views of the friends to the constitution, as could hardly have been expected from a sincere revolutionist; and the same reflection will naturally occur on reading the following curious passage:—'In Lord Danby's letters there are several in the beginning of the year 1678-9, from Mr. Montague, Ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing him that Rouvigny was to go over with money upon that errand (to distribute among the popular party in Parliament) and to act in concert with Lord Russell; and that Barillon was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham and others of the popular party in England. The truth of this information is *confirmed* by the following memorial of Barillon: an English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his

* Dair. vol. ii. p. 129.

eyes, which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russell and the court of France; yet it will give him some relief to find, amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue, the man of honour appearing.'*

Whoever impartially considers Charles's secret intrigues, his receiving pensions from Louis, conniving at his ministers taking presents, and himself bribing his own subjects with French money, in order to subvert the constitution, extend the prerogative, and introduce Popery and arbitrary power, with the dismal prospect of a bigoted cruel Popish successor (all well known to the sagacious Lord Russell), must conclude, it was so far from blameable in Lord Russell, to confer with his friend and relation Rouvigny, for the national benefit, that it evidently demonstrated his love to his country. Had he declined it, he would have as much deserved censure, as the part he took really merited applause, and proved him indeed the man of honour, the wise and prudent patriot. Sir John should have shewn that the virtuous Lord Russell had, by his connexions and intrigues, deserted, or acted contrary to the interests of his country, before he ventured so *injudicious* and *imprudent* a remark. This he has not done; yea, the very French memorials on which he founds his censure, giving him full credit for their authority, are full proofs of the noble Lord's integrity.

Barillon's memorial, March 14, 1678: 'M. de Rouvigny has seen Lord Russell and Lord Hollis, who were fully satisfied with the assurance he gave them, that the King (of France) is convinced it is not his interest to make the king of England absolute master in his kingdom—and that France would endeavour to bring about a dissolution of Parliament—Lord Russell would engage Lord Shaftsbury in it—privately endeavour to prevent an augmentation of the sum for carrying on the war—and annex disagreeable clauses to the offer of a million sterling.† Russell was afraid France approved England's declaration of war, that Charles might get money, and then make peace; Rouvigny, to demonstrate the contrary, said, That I (Barillon) was ready to distribute a considerable sum in the Parliament, to prevail with it to refuse any money for the war, and solicited him to name the persons who might be gained. Lord Russell replied, "That *he should be very sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money;*" bu he appeared pleased to see by this proposal, that there it no private understanding between your majesty and ths King of England *to hurt their constitution.*—He and all hie friends *only wanted the dissolution of Parliament—they knew it could only come from the help of France.*—They would s trust him on Rouvigny's assurances, and endeavour to oblige Charles to ask the French King's friendship, that Louis might be in a state to contribute to their satisfaction.—Secresy necessary; for though the dissolution of Parliament be *a thing wished for by all England*—yet if known, they would prevent it by doing all the king could wish. Lord Russell hath resolved to support the affair against the Treasurer, and even attack the Duke of York

* Darl. vol. ii. p. 129. † Ibid. 130.

and all the Catholics.' Thus, Barillon's memorial, March, 24, 1678, 'Lord Hollis and Lord Russell never pretended openly to oppose giving money to the King of England, but the Commons added clauses to the bill, for which they hoped it would not be accepted; but the avidity for money, and the desire of having troops on foot, which they thought they might dispose of, had made the ministers pass the act without any consideration for the true interests of his Britannic Majesty; this redoubles their fears of the designs of the court, with which they are much alarmed, even although they are at this minute persuaded that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert, they are still under apprehension, *lest the war should serve only to bring them under subjection*.' Again—April 11, 1678, 'All these leaders of the party will not be averse to peace, if they believe that your Majesty will enter into no *engagements against their liberties*; on this head I give them all the assurances I can, and the most sensible among them know well, it is not the interest of France that a King of England should be absolute master, and be able to dispose, according to his will, of all the power of the nation. They feared, *lest the army that was raising, should be employed to change the form of government in England*;—that the court, having sufficient troops, would attempt every thing agreeable to its interest—arrest the principal persons, prevent others resisting or opposing, and when England was subjected at home, carry on a foreign war with the greater facility; they are apprehensive that your Majesty (Louis) and Charles act in concert—necessary therefore to convince them, that the King of France not only has no connexion with the King of England to oppress them—nor will suffer him, under pretence of an imaginary war, to find means to bring them into subjection.' April 18, 1678, 'The High Treasurer's aim is to procure money, and he would willingly increase his master's authority. The Duke of York believes himself lost as to his religion, if the present opportunity does not serve *to bring England into subjection*.' May 12; 'The King himself will sign the treaty—none of his subjects are bold enough to do it.' May 27; 'Separate article: Charles to be paid six millions of livres, and to recal his troops, except 3000 for Ostend, and 3000 for Scotland, to disband those newly raised, and to prorogue the Parliament for four months.' The separate article was signed by Barillon, promising the money only on that condition. Charles and James kept the treaty secret from the Prince of Orange. May 31, 1768, 'The Commons want the new raised troops disbanded, the Duke of York wants them kept on foot.'*

In 1678, there was a treaty between Charles and Louis; but Barillon afterward gave Charles to understand, that his master would not pay the money, unless he would engage by a secret article, that he would never maintain an army that should exceed 8000 men, reckoning the whole forces in his three kingdoms. When this demand was signified to Charles, 'God's fish! (said he) does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to

* Darl. vol. ii.

make me absolute master of my people come to this? Or does he think it a thing to be done with 8000 men?—This exclamation plainly proves, that Charles had entertained such a design, though the preparations in which he was now employed, seem to have been made with a view to raise the price of his neutrality with the French monarch.*

Dalrymple himself observes, 'It is probable that Charles meant to make use of his apparent inclination for war, only to keep up his forces, to get money from Parliament, and to squeeze more money from France.'† In fact, both Charles and James manifested by their conduct, that they thought they had a right to make the laws depend on their will, and to make their will effectual by an army; this led the patriots to oppose strongly any designs to keep up a standing army; and hence, the purity of Lord Russell's intention, and his prudence, in his whole proceedings, are demonstrable even from Barillon's testimony. His great circumspection and anxious care for preserving the government, and Protestant religion, are also very conspicuous—he himself could not bear the gaining by money; though others, real patriots, *might think themselves justified in accepting presents*, to make use of them for good purposes, and employ the money without scruple to secure men, whose virtue alone was insufficient to keep them steady to the public interest.

Let it be observed, that Dec. 21, 1678, the Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer, was impeached by the Commons for endeavouring to subvert the constitution, and introduce arbitrary government.—The

25 Jan. 1678-9, A proclamation was issued for dissolving the Parliament, and calling another to meet the 6th of March.—And the

21 March, 1678-9, His Majesty constituted a new privy-council.

Thus we see the good effects resulting from Lord Russell's French connexions: the fears for liberty from the power of France were removed; a minister, who seconded his master's arbitrary designs, was disgraced; the Duke of York sent abroad; a Parliament dissolved which had in general shewn more ardour to enlarge the King's prerogative, than maintain the constitutional rights of the people; the army disbanded, which seemed intended rather to enslave the nation, than attack a foreign enemy; and friends to their country were admitted into the council: surely these were happy and important events.

Having done justice to Sir John Dalrymple, to French politics, and to the intrigues and memory of the two royal and gracious brothers, Charles and James, as far as the vindication of Lord Russell was concerned; the testimonies of *other historians of all parties*, concerning the integrity, principles, and public conduct of that truly noble Lord, and inestimable patriot, shall now be submitted to the public. Principles and conduct, which, had they been fully crowned with success, would have prevented many scenes of oppression, injustice, and cruelty!‡

* Smollett. † Dalr. vol. ii. p. 17.

‡ Sir John Dalrymple may think he hath not justice done him,

Two letters* were sent from Richard Montague, the English Ambassador at Paris, to the Lord Danby, then Lord Treasurer, and read in the House of Commons during the debates about the impeachment and trial of that nobleman. The first is dated January 11th, 1677-8, wherein the Ambassador communicates the following intelligence to his Lordship:—'The reason of Rouvigny's son (afterward Earl of Galway) going to England, is to make use of all the lights his father will give him, and by the near relation he hath to my Lady Vaughan (then Lady Russell) who is his cousin, and the particular friendship which father and son have with Mr. William Russell; he is to be introduced into a great commerce with the malecontent members of Parliament, and to cross your measures at court, if they shall prove disagreeable here; while Barillon goes on his smooth subtle way.' In the second letter, dispatched the ensuing week, and dated January 18, 1677-8, the Ambassador writes further; 'The reason of Rouvigny's journey, is to let the King know that the King of France did hope he was so firm to him, as not to be led away by the Lord Treasurer; and as for money, if he wanted it, he should have what he would from hence. His instructions are, if this design takes, by the means of William Russell and other discontented people, to give a great deal of money, and cross all your measures at court.'

Here we see Lord Russell remarkably pointed at by the court of France, as a principal leading man among those that opposed the court in Parliament. But the project here intimated of gaining him over to the French interest by bribery, shews their ignorance of the man, and of his inflexible probity; and could only be formed upon the general presumption of the never-failing force of that engine, when skilfully applied; against which, however, Lord Russell was impregnable.

In 1678, Lord Russell made a motion for an address to

in the producing Burnet as a voucher, after what he hath said of that historian in his Memoirs: 'I have never tried *Burnet's facts*, by the *test of dates*, and of *original papers*, without finding them *wrong*. For which reason I have made little use of them in these Memoirs, unless when I found them supported by other authorities.' Sir John will please to observe, that Burnet's evidence in the following pages, respecting Lord Russell, is supported by authorities of each party. But is it not ungenerous for the living to throw reflections on the dead!—reflections which may be also too justly retorted on the accuser himself. Some of *Sir John's facts*, in his Memoirs, tried by the *test of original papers* in the Appendix, have been found to be *wrong*; he knew them to be so; and yet he hath not corrected, nor pointed them out to his readers; and as for the *test of dates*, his own testimony is, 'From comparing the *notes* which I took in France with the *copies of the papers* sent me from thence, I find in some instances, *a difference in the dates* between us, owing probably to my oversight.' So that it is a piece of justice due to characters, and to historical truth, to say, that *Burnet's Memoirs*, or history, may be quoted and relied upon, equally with, yea far superior to, *Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs*; especially as several of the letters now published by Sir John, corroborate some of Bishop Burnet's facts, which by party weaknesses and passions have been hitherto disputed.

* Biog. Brit.

his Majesty, that his Royal Highness the Duke of York might be removed from his presence and councils.

January 31, 1679-80. The Lords Russell and Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle,* finding the King's head and heart were against popular councils, and that their presence in council could no longer be useful to prevent pernicious measures, and not being willing to serve him against the interest of their country, went to him together, and desired him to excuse their attendance any more upon him at council. The King, who was weary of such faithful counsellors, and wanted such as would promote his arbitrary measures, replied, 'with all my heart.' Smollett says, 'Lord Russell, one of the most popular and virtuous men in the nation, now quitted the council-board.'

October 26, 1680. Lord Russell moved, That the Commons might in the first place take into consideration how to suppress Popery, and prevent a popish successor. The bill was brought in for excluding the Duke of York from the crown; which passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords, to whom it was carried by Lord Russell, and almost the whole House of Commons.†

Lord Russell said, on the exclusion bill being rejected, 'If my father had advised the measure, I would have been the first to impeach him;'‡ and 'that if ever there should happen in this nation any such change, as that he should not have liberty to live a Protestant, he was resolved to die one.§

The Lords Shaftsbury, Russell, and Cavendish, &c. presented the Duke of York to the Grand Jury for Middlesex, at Westminster Hall, as indictable, being a popish recusant.—And

January 7, 1680-81. The Commons resolved, That until a bill be passed for excluding the Duke of York, they could not give any supply without danger to his Majesty, and extreme hazard to the Protestant religion.‖

The Earl of Shaftsbury¶ had engaged the Duke of Monmouth, the Lords Russell and Grey, to rise in arms and oppose the Duke of York's succession at the death of Charles; they afterward associated the Earls of Essex and Salisbury with them in the above design.—Russell and Hampden proposed to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation. Howard was base enough to purchase pardon by betraying his friends. —Russell was the best beloved nobleman in the kingdom, and even his enemies could not help revering his virtues. All acquitted him of any share in the scheme of assassination.

The Duke of Monmouth, Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, and Colonel Sidney,** with some other great and valuable persons, who were of that well-grounded opinion, that a free nation, like this of England, might defend their religion and liberties, when invaded and taken from them under pretence and colour of law, began to bethink themselves how to restore Parliaments to their ancient freedom, and to deliver the nation from the fury of that torrent of Popery, which they wisely foresaw ready to break in and carry all

* Oldmixon. † Echard. ‡ Dalr. § Ralph.
‖ Salmon. ¶ Smollett. ** Display of Tyranny.

before it. At this juncture, the (popish) conspirators laid hold of the information given by Keeling, of unadvised and rash discourses of a very small number of men (nine or ten at the most, all strangers to the persons and honest consultations of those great men before named), and they cunningly and maliciously patched and worked them into one piece, and emitted it to the world by their declaration read in all churches, under the name of a presbyterian or fanatic plot (Rye-house conspiracy) which they had long wanted. Hereupon a proclamation pursues the Duke of Monmouth and some others (designed for destruction;) who chose to stand aside out of the reach of the bloodthirsty conspirators; but the Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, and Colonel Sidney, would not be overcome by the persuasions of those who invited them to safe retirements, and so were clapped into the Tower, and afterward, in different ways, butchered. It was resolved that my Lord Russell, the honour of his age, should be cut off in a seeming way of justice; and as he was a person of inestimable value, so the art used to destroy him was extraordinary.

The hardships on private persons,* and infringements on public liberties, made some begin to think of an alteration of government in earnest. When the Earl of Shaftsbury was gone to Holland, being conscious of his own obnoxiousness, and apprehensive what forward Sheriffs, willing Juries, mercenary Judges, and bold Witnesses, might do against him; the Duke of Monmouth resolved to be advised chiefly by Lord Essex; but he was unwilling to be alone in a matter of such consequence, and named, first, Lord Russell, against whom there was no exception; next, Algernoon Sidney, who was brother to the Earl of Leicester, who having a great kindness to Lord Howard,† as an avowed hater of the King and monarchy, he prevailed on them, contrary to the ill opinion they had of the man, to

* Burnet.

† William Lord Howard, of Escrick; a man of wit and learning, but always poor, and ready to undertake any thing that was bold: he had run through many parties in religion in Cromwell's time; had been re-baptized and preached in London; and, upon his usurpation of the government, set up against him as a strong commonwealth's man. In the beginning of the war (with the Dutch) he offered to serve De Witt; and when the Prince of Orange was advanced, he undertook both to send him good intelligence, and to make him a party in England. He was put in the Tower (1674), but by the threats of the Dutch (Howard) was saved. Ralph,* on Lord Russell's trial describes Lord Howard thus:—'The person who in all, but the nobility of his birth, was the reverse of the unhappy prisoner; a man of outside only; who made the best pretences subservient to the worst purposes; who was distinguished by high rank, quick parts, and happy address, only to be the more emphatically despised; and whose whole life was so thoroughly profligate, that his turning evidence against his best friends, has been represented by some as the least exceptionable part of it.' After saying thus much, every man conversant in the history of this reign (Charles II.) will think of Lord Howard, who now appeared as a witness in that court, where he, of all others, most deserved to have been prosecuted as a criminal.

* *Vide* Lord Russell's trial, added to this Edition.

receive him into their secrets, to which Hampden, grandson of the patriot, was also admitted.

There was also a lower company of Lord Shaftsbury's creatures, who met continually in the Temple. Rumsey and Ferguson came constantly thither; the former, a bold talking man, and by many suspected to be all along a court spy; Ferguson, a hot confident man, having a spirit naturally turned to plotting, and a temper that delighted in mischief.

The Duke of Monmouth had some time before carried Lord Russell, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, to one Shephard's (now Pontac's, Abchurch-lane), a wine-merchant, upon appointment to meet Lord Shaftsbury, or some of his friends; but when they came thither, and found none met, but this Ferguson and Rumsey, they liked not their company, and were going; only Lord Russell calling for a taste of some wines, which occasioned a small stay, Rumsey began a discourse of surprising the guards, and insisted much on the easiness of doing it, Armstrong, who had once commanded them, shewed him his mistake therein; and as soon as Lord Russell (who had not spoke a word upon the subject) had tasted what wines he pleased, they all went away. This is the only time Lord Russell was ever in their company; but it proved of fatal consequence to him. Keeling (employed by the Temple conspirators) made a discovery; Rumsey charged Lord Russell with the design of seizing the guards; Lord Russell, though he might have made his escape, yet, in confidence of his innocence, staid at home till a messenger was sent to carry him to the council; after his examination he was committed (June 26, 1683) close prisoner to the Tower, and afterward to Newgate.

Lord Russell* was the first of the great who was ordered to be searched for—he was found, neither preparing for flight, nor hiding himself, but sitting in his study. So soon as he was in custody, he gave up all hopes of life, knowing how obnoxious he was to the Duke of York, and only studied to die with decency and dignity. Essex was at his country-house when he heard the fate of his friend, and could have made his escape; but when pressed to make it by those around him, he answered, 'His own life was not worth saving, if by drawing suspicion upon Lord Russell, it would bring his life into danger.' [This sentiment makes the Lord Essex's cutting his own throat in the Tower, the morning of Russell's trial, the more improbable.] Monmouth had absconded, but, actuated by the same generous motive with Essex, he sent a message to Russell when he heard he was seized, 'That he would surrender himself, and share his fate, if his doing so could be of use to him.' Russell answered in these words, 'It will be of no advantage to me to have my friends die with me.'

He was tried at the Old Bailey, Friday 13th July: present, Lord Chief Justice Pemberton, Lord Chief Baron Montagu; Judges Windham, Charlton, Levins, Withens, Street; Treby, Recorder; Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney General; Finch, Solicitor General; Sir George Jefferies, King's Serjeant; North, King's Counsel; Sir Dudley North, Sir Peter Rich, Sheriffs; John Martin, Foreman of the Jury, no freeholder. Evidences, Shephard, Rumsey, Lord Howard.

* Dairymple.

THE

TRIAL OF LORD RUSSELL.

THE Lord Russell was set to the bar, and placed within the bar.

Cl. of Cr. William Russell* hold up thy hand (which he did). Then the indictment was read as followeth:—

'London.—The jurors of our Sovereign Lord the King, upon their oaths, present, That William Russell, late London, Esq. together with other false traitors, as a false traitor against the most illustrious and excellent prince, our Sovereign Lord Charles II. by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, his natural Lord, not having the fear of God in his heart, nor weighing the duty of his allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil, and the true duty and natural obedience which true and faithful subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King, towards him our said Lord the King do bear, and of right ought to bear, wholly withdrawing; and with his whole strength intending the peace and common tranquillity of the kingdom of England to disturb, and war and rebellion against our said Lord the King to move and stir up; and the government of our said Lord the King, within this kingdom of England, to subvert, and our said Lord the King from his title, honour, and kingly name of the imperial crown of this his kingdom of England to put down and deprive; and our said Lord the King to death and final destruction to bring and put, the second day of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles II. King of England, &c. the four and thirtieth, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, at the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, in the ward of Bassishaw, London, aforesaid, maliciously and traiterously, with divers other traitors, to the jurors aforesaid unknown, he did conspire, compass, imagine, and intend our said Lord the King, his supreme Lord, not only of his kingly state, title, power, and government of this his kingdom of England, to deprive and throw down; but also our said Lord the King to kill, and to death to bring and put; and the ancient government of this his kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly to subvert, and a miserable slaughter amongst the subjects of our said Lord the King, through his whole kingdom of England to cause and pro-

* He was Lord only by courtesy, being eldest son to the Earl of Bedford.

cure, and insurrection and rebellion against our said Lord the King, to move, procure, and stir up within this kingdom of England; and to fulfil and perfect the said most horrible treasons, and traiterous compassings, imaginations, and purposes aforesaid, he the said William Russell, together with other false traitors, as a false traitor then and there, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, maliciously, traiterously, and advisedly, between themselves, and with divers other traitors, to the jurors aforesaid unknown, they did meet together, consult, agree, and conclude, and every of them then and there did consult, agree, and conclude, insurrection, and rebellion against our Sovereign Lord the King, within this kingdom of England, to move and stir up; and the guards for the preservation of the person of our said Lord the King, to seize and destroy, against the duty of his allegiance, against the peace, &c. and also against the form of the statutes, &c.'

Cl. of Cr. How sayest thou, art thou guilty, or not guilty?

Lord Russell. My Lord, may I not have a copy of the matter of fact laid against me, that I may know what to answer to it?

*L. C. J.** My Lord, we can grant you nothing till you have pleaded. Therefore, that which is put to you now is, whether you say you are guilty, or not guilty?

L. Russell. My Lord, I am not guilty.

Cl. of Cr. Culprit, how wilt thou be tried?

L. Russell. By God and my country.

Cl. of Cr. God send thee a good deliverance.

L. Russell. My Lord, I thought a prisoner had never been arraigned and tried at the same time: I have been a close prisoner.

L. C. J. For crimes of this nature, my Lord, we do it continually.

L. Russell. It is hard, my Lord.

Mr. At. Gen.† My Lord hath no reason to complain for want of notice, for since Monday se'nnight he had notice of his trial, and the matter alleged against him he had notice of, for questions were put to him about this matter; he hath been very fairly dealt with, he hath had the liberty of counsel to advise him; there hath been no sort of liberty denied him, which becomes any subject to have in this condition.

L. C. J. My Lord, I do not know whether you hear Mr. Attorney. He says, your Lordship hath had a great deal of favour shewn you already, in that you have been acquainted with the crimes for which you are now indicted, that you have had a great deal of warning given you, that you have had the liberty of counsel, which hath not been known granted to any under your Lordship's circumstances. He says, he doubts not but your Lordship is prepared for your defence, because you have had so much knowledge and warning of the time and matter for which you are so called in question.

L. Russell. My Lord, I am much to seek; I only heard

* Sir Francis Pemberton. † Sir Robert Sawyer.

some general questions, and I have witnesses that, I believe, are not yet in town, nor will be, I believe, till night; I think it very hard I cannot have one day more.

Mr. At. Gen. Monday se'nnight your Lordship had notice.

L. Russell. I did not know the matter I was charged with.

Mr. At. Gen. Yes, certainly, for I was with you myself, my Lord; and those questions you were examined upon, were a favour to you, that you might know what the matter was you were accused of.

L. C. J. My Lord, without the King's consent we cannot put off the trial; if the King's counsel think not fit to put it off, we cannot grant your Lordship's request in this case.

L. Russell. I would desire a copy of the pannel of the jury, that I might consider of it; for how else can I make any just challenge? I thought the law had been very favourable to men upon their lives, and therefore it had allowed people to have some little notice.

L. C. J. Hath not your Lordship had a copy of the pannel? I think your Lordship was allowed one. We gave order your Lordship should have a copy of the pannel.

Mr. At. Gen. We did indulge him so far, that he might have a note of all the men returned.

L. Russell. I never had a copy of the pannel.

L. C. J. It was the fault of your Lordship's servants then; for I gave order for it myself. 'Tis such a favour, that in regard a man's life lies at stake, we never did deny it,* to my knowledge. And therefore in this case I gave order to the secondary to deliver a copy. I know the King did not design to be hard upon my Lord in his trial, but that he should have as fair a trial, as ever any noble person had.

L. Russell. I pray I may have a copy of them.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. If my Lord had sent his agents, and it had been refused, there had been something in it.

Mr. At. Gen. Secondary Normansel was with me, and I gave him my allowance, though it was not his right.

L. C. J. That my Lord may not be surprised, what think you of giving my Lord time till the afternoon, and try some of the rest in the mean time?

Mr. At. Gen. Truly, my Lord, if I could imagine it were possible for my Lord to have any witnesses, I should not be against it.

L. Russell. 'Tis very hard.

Mr. At. Gen. Do not say so, the King does not deal hardly with you; but I am afraid it will appear you would have dealt more hardly with the King: you would not have given the King an hour's notice for saving his life.

Secondary Trotman. I gave my brother Normansel a copy of the pannel on my side, and hear that my brother Normansel hath said that he delivered a copy. Then Secondary Normansel was sent for, and the court staid for him for some time.

Mr. Atwood. My Lord, a gentleman told me, he did not

* But it had been denied in Colledge's case, and was afterward denied to Mr. Cornish, till the time of his trial, when it could be of no service to him.

know whether it was fit, till he had consulted the Attorney General; afterward I had a copy as it stood then, not as it is now.

Mr. At. Gen. I desire my Lord may be asked who sent for it?

L. Russell. I did not send for it; I inquired, and they said it would be refused.

Mr. Atwood. No, the gentleman had it with the fair periwig.

L. J. C. It was delivered to your servant, or agent. What did you do with it?

L. Russell's Gent. Sir, the gentleman gave me out of a book some names.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. What did you do with them?

Lord Russell's Gent. I writ them down; they were not perfect; I did not know what they were.

L. C. J. Sir, you were to blame not to deliver it to my Lord.

L. Russell's Gent. I was not bound to deliver an imperfect thing to my Lord.

L. C. J. Sir, you should have consulted your Lord's advantage, so as to have delivered any thing for his good.

L. Russell's Gent. My Lord was in the Tower, I was not admitted to my Lord.

Mr. At. Gen. Did you give it to my Lady?

L. Russell's Gent. Yes; those names I had, my Lady had.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. How long ago was it?

Mr. Atwood. Tuesday or Wednesday last.

L. C. J. (To Lord Russell's servant). Look you, Sir, when had you this?

L. Russell. I had no pannel, I will assure you, delivered me: I had some names of people that they said were usually on juries.

L. C. J. They were the names of the jury.

L. Russell. They were only the names of them that were like to be of the jury, no other pannel came to me.

L. C. J. My Lord, there can be no other copy given, but the same that was delivered; for your Lordship does know in this case, any person accused, as your Lordship is, may challenge thirty-five; and therefore there is a return generally of three or four score, and these are returned in case of your Lordship's challenge. When you have challenged so many as you please, then the twelve men that stand after your challenge, are to be of the jury. And therefore this is not like a pannel made up by the Sheriff, in ordinary causes between man and man; there they make a formal pannel, from which they cannot depart, when that is once returned; but here, in criminal cases, because of the challenge, they return either sixty or eighty. And I presume your Lordship was attended with the names delivered.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. How many names were delivered?

Mr. Atwood. Above one hundred.

L. Russell. I had nothing of a pannel delivered to me, but some names.

L. C. J. There was never any formal pannel delivered to any person accused: the copy of it is in paper always.

L. Russell. How can I know who to challenge.

L. C. J. My Lord, the copy of it is in your hands; your Lordship hath been deceived in this, by not understanding the true nature of these things. If we were to give you a new one, we could give you but such a one.

L. Russell. I had no paper from the true officer.

L. C. J. No, but from your servant.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, you will have cause to complain, if they are not the same men we now shall call.

L. C. J. My Lord, that paper will guide your Lordship in your challenges.

L. Russell. My Lord, I did not mind it, I put it away. My Lord, with your favour, I must needs insist upon having a pannel, and that you will put it off till the afternoon; I have a witness that is not in town. My Counsel told me it was never done, or very seldom, arraigning and trying at the same time, except in case of common malefactors.

L. C. J. Why may not this trial be respited till the afternoon?

Mr. At. Gen. Pray call the jury.

L. C. J. My Lord, the King's Counsel think it not reasonable to put off the trial longer, and we cannot put it off without their consent in this case.

L. Russell. My Lord, 'tis hard; I thought the law had allowed a pretty deal of favour to a man when he came upon his life. How can I know to except against men, that I never heard or saw one of them?

Cl. of Cr. You the prisoner at the bar; those good men that have been now called, and here appear, are to pass between you and our Sovereign Lord the King, upon your life or death; if you challenge any of them, you must speak as they come to the book to be sworn, before they are sworn.

L. Russell. My Lord, may not I have the use of pen, ink, and paper?

Court. Yes, my Lord.

L. Russell. My Lord, may I not make use of any papers I have?

L. C. J. Yes, by all means.

L. Russell. May I have somebody to write to help my memory?

Mr. At. Gen. Yes, a servant.

L. C. J. Any of your servants shall assist you in writing any thing you please for you.

L. Russell. My wife is here, my Lord, to do it.

L. C. J. If my Lady please to give herself the trouble.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, you may have two persons to write for you, if you please.

L. Russell. My Lord, here hath been a name read, that I never saw in the list of the jury I had: I heard Sir Andrew Foster called.

L. C. J. He is not called to be of the jury.

Cl. of Cr. Call John Martin. [He appears.

L. Russell. Are you a freeholder of 40*s.* a year? I hope none are allowed in the pannel but those that have freeholds.

L. C. J. There is no pannel made in London by freeholders; we have very few freeholders capable of being impannelled, because the estates of the city belong much

to the nobility and gentlemen that live abroad, and to corporations: therefore, in the city of London* the challenge of freeholders is excepted.

L. Russell. My Lord, I thought it had been always so, and the law had been clear in that case throughout England, that no man ought to be tried for his life, but by those that have freeholds. My Lord, I remember I read the statute of 2 Hen. V. where 'tis positive that no person shall be judged in case of life and death, but by those that have 40*s.* a year.

L. C. J. My Lord, that statute extends not to this case. Read the statute.

Cl. of Cr. 'Whereas perjury is much used in the city of London upon persons,' &c.

L. C. J. Is this the statute your Lordship has read?

L. Russell. This is not the case of life and death.

L. C. J. It is not, my Lord.

L. Russell. That that I read is positive. And if your Lordship will not allow of it, I desire my Counsel may come and argue it, for 'tis a matter of law, and I cannot argue it, whether the jury are not to be freeholders.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. There is nothing mentioned in that statute with relation to the city of London, indeed, but the necessity of the thing requires it.

Mr. At. Gen. It will not be material, 'tis a collateral point, for most of the jury have freeholds.

L. C. J. Do you allow the exception?

Mr. At. Gen. No, my Lord,

L. C. J. Therefore we must, if my Lord stand upon it, hear his Counsel. My Lord, we will hear your Counsel; what Counsel do you desire my Lord?

L. Russell. The Counsel that were allotted me.

L. C. J. No, you must have Counsel assigned by us. The Counsel that was assigned elsewhere, signifies nothing.

L. Russell. Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Ward.

The said persons were called, and came into court.

L. C. J. (to the Counsel) Gentlemen, my Lord here desires Counsel; you are here assigned as Counsel for my Lord Russell that is at the bar; 'tis concerning a thing wherein he doubts the law; he would except to the Jury upon this account, to the poll, because they have not freehold within the city of London, and he desires you may be assigned his Counsel, to make it out that this is a cause of challenge.

Mr. At. Gen. 'Tis a case of treason, Mr. Pollexfen.

Mr. Ward. We take it so.

Mr. Pollex. My Lord, perhaps if we had more consideration of it, we should speak more, but if your Lordship pleases to hear us what we can say: first, we take it, with submission, at common law, a freehold was necessary to make a man a juryman. But that which falls out in this case, is the statute of 2 Hen. V. c. 3. which statute I suppose is here in court. That statute says this (if you please I will quote the substance of it), That none shall be ad-

* But the resolution of the court extended to all trials, even in a county at large, and was so cited and followed in Colonel Sidney's case.

mitted to pass upon any inquest upon the trial of the death of a man, except he have lands and tenements of the yearly value of 40s. Now we are here, I think, within the words of the statute, and I take it to be no question at all, were we not in a city and county. I think this would be no question upon any trial in any county at large. The statute does not make any exception or distinguishment between cities or counties at large, but the words are general, as I have opened them. My Lord, the statute does also provide in cases of freehold, or 40 marks. Now, my Lord, to prove this statute extends to London, though a city and county, there are other statutes that have been made subsequent, make it plain that it does so extend. But before I speak to them, there is one instance, fol. 157, that takes notice of this statute, and speaks it generally, that the freehold ought to be in the same county; nor do I remember to have seen any book that distinguishes between counties at large and cities and counties. But statutes that have been made concerning cities and counties, are a plain declaration that this is meant of juries both in cities and counties. I will mention the statute 7 Hen. VII. c. 5. The substance of the statute is this: It takes notice that there were challenges in London, for that they had not 40s. per ann. and that this challenge was to be made in the wards, which are the same with hundreds in the counties, so this statute is made to take away the challenge of 40s. freehold. This statute of 7 Hen. VII. that takes away the challenge in London for not having 40s. is, with submission, a strong evidence and authority that it was before that time a good challenge, for otherwise to what end should they make a statute to take away the challenge, unless it were before a good cause of challenge? In the next place, 4 Hen. VIII. c. 3. that extends to civil causes in London, and says, that the London jurors shall (but provides only for London in civil causes) be admitted in civil causes, that have goods to the value of 100 marks. My Lord, if that first statute of the common law had not extended to require freeholds in London, then there would have been no need of this statute that was made to enable men to be jurors that had goods to the value of 100 marks. So that we take it to be good authority, that by the common law freehold was required in all civil causes. Then there is another statute, 23 Hen. VIII. c. 13. and that will be a strong evidence to shew what the law is: for the statute says, in cities and boroughs, in trials of murder and felony, if a freeman of the city of London is to be tried, the freemen shall be upon the jury, though they have not freehold; and then there is a proviso, that for knights and esquires that are out of the borough, though they are arraigned in the borough, that extends not to them, though in cases of murder and felony. As for this statute, we take this sense of it, first, That it does not extend to treasons; for when it only names murders and felonies, that makes no alteration as to treason; therefore that stands as before: but if there be any alteration that extends only to freemen and burgesses that are to be tried, but not to knights and esquires; so that if we were in a case of felony and murder, I think we are not concerned in this statute, for we are no freeman nor bur-

gess, but we are an esquire, and therefore ought to be tried by freeholders: so that for the law we rely upon these statutes, that we have looked upon as strong evidence, that there ought to be in the trial of the life of man, especially for treason, freeholders. First, if it were in civil causes, if this qualification be not in jurymen, then an attaint would lie; the penalty in an attaint is, that their houses should be pulled down, &c. This is provided by the law, to the intent the jury may be careful to go according to their evidence. 'Tis true, no attaint does lie in criminal causes; but if to be in civil causes there be required freeholders, and an attaint lies if there be not, 'tis not reasonable to think but there should be as great regard to the life of a man as to his estate. Next, my Lord, I do not know any law that sets any kind of qualification but this of freehold; so that be the persons of what condition or nature soever (supposing they be not outlawed), yet these persons, if this law be not in effect, may then serve and be put upon the life of a man. These are the reasons, my Lord, for which we apprehend they ought to be freeholders.

Mr. Holt. My Lord, I would desire one word of the same side: We insist in this case upon these two things: first, we conceive by the common law, every jury-man ought to have a freehold; we have good authority for it, Coke's First Institutes; but if that were not so, I think the statute Mr. Pollexfen hath first mentioned, 2 Hen. V. c. 3. to be express in this point. My Lord, the statute in the preamble does recite all the mischiefs: it says great mischiefs ensued by juries that were made up of persons that had not estates sufficient. In what? As well in the case of the death of a man, as in the case of freehold between party and party; the statute reciting this mischief, does in express words provide two remedies for the same in these cases: first, on the life and death of a man, the jury or inquest to be taken, shall have 40s. per annum, and so between party and party 40 marks; so that this being the trial of the death of a man, it is interpreted by Stamford, 162 a. that is, in all cases where a man is arraigned for his life, that is within the express words of the statute. Besides this exposition that hath been put upon the statute, my Lord, it doth seem that the judgment of several parliaments hath been accordingly in several times and ages. My Lord, to instance in one statute that hath not been mentioned, and that is the 33 of Hen. VIII. c. 23. that does give the King power to award commissions of Oyer and Terminer, for trials in any county of England: and that (says the statute) in such cases no challenge to the shire or hundred shall be allowed; that is, you shall not challenge the jury in such a case, because they have not freehold, are not of the county where the treason was committed; but that upon the trial challenge, for lack of freehold of 40s. a year, shall be allowed, though it alters the manner of trying treason by the common law; so that, my Lord, here is the opinion of that very parliament; that though it took away the usual methods of trials; yet it saves the prisoner's challenge for want of freehold. Now indeed that statute is repealed; but I mention it as to the proviso, that it shews the judgment of that parliament at

that time: my Lord, those other statutes that have been made to regulate cities and towns corporate, why were they made? 33 Hen. VIII. That no freehold should be allowed, that shews that 2 Hen. V. did extend to these cases. But, my Lord, these statutes that shew the judgment of the Parliament sufficient to our purpose, do not extend to this case; the statute goes only to murders and felonies; but not to treasons: and we are in the state of a penal statute, and concerning the life and death of a man, which ought to be taken strictly, it ousts the prisoner of a benefit; and by parity of reason, if treason be not mentioned, your Lordship cannot by equity extend it to it, when it only mentions inferior offences, and takes away the benefit in lower cases: like the case of the Bishop of Winchester, where the statute set down dean and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons, it shall not extend to bishops, because it begins with persons of an inferior nature: no more shall murder and felony extend to treason. But further, the statute only concerns freemen, for there is an express proviso in the case: for in case any knight or esquire come to be tried in the place, he has his benefit as before. My Lord, we are in this case, as in the case not mentioned in the statute, we are not a freeman of London. My Lord, there is another thing, 7 Hen. VII. c. 5. why there was not only requisite at the common law, that the jurors had sufficient freehold, but it was required it should be in the hundred; and freehold in the wards of the city, is the same with freehold in the hundreds in the country: so that the want of freehold in the hundred, was a good cause of challenge. So that I think it will hardly be denied, but that a jury that passes upon the life of a man, ought by the law, by the statute, and by the judgment of the parliament, to have freehold.—Where is there any statute whatsoever that makes a difference in this case, between London and other counties? We are in the case of treason; we have taken our exceptions, and on behalf of the prisoner at the bar, we pray the challenge may be allowed.

Mr. Ward. My Lord, I shall be short, because Mr. Pollexfen has observed these things so particularly already, I observe the statue of Hen. V. is a general statute, and extends throughout the realm; now when the thing is thus general, there is no room to except particulars. And in this case 'tis within the very words of the law, if the words be so generally penned in the negative, then we conceive there is no construction to be made upon them, unless some subsequent parliament alter it. Coke's Institutes, 157, where 'tis said in treason as well as any thing else, upon Hen. V. there shall be freeholds. If they have provided in civil and other criminal causes, it were strange that this should be *casus omissus*, but there is no construction against a negative law. For the parliament taking care of the city of London (as the subsequent statutes say) that he that hath 100 marks shall pass in civil causes, and then it says in murders and felonies, and that only confined to the freemen of the place, does sufficiently explain the law where 'tis not altered by any subsequent act, therefore I desire the challenge may be admitted.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, these Gentlemen's foundation is not good, for they prove it not by any books, that at common law it was requisite for a juryman to have freehold. My Lord, I deny their foundation; there is no such law; and at this day, in all criminal cases where the statute does not direct it, as for riots and other informations for misdemeanour, there is no law restrains them, and they may be tried by any men they have no exception against. Then 2 Hen. V. says, None shall be admitted to pass upon the death of a man (I take it to extend to all capital matters, though it is pretty oddly expressed; for when a man is accused of other felonies and high treasons, 'tis of the death of a man,) unless he have lands or tenements of the yearly value of 40s. But I will take it as these Gentlemen do at this time, it not being so at common law, nor in other criminal cases, but what are provided for by the statute; as to other matters of felony and murder, no doubt there these challenges are to be taken upon the statute, but not for treason, because the Statute of Queen Mary does expressly repeal that statute; and no statute since takes away the force of that of Queen Mary; that all trials for treason shall be as the common law; and according to this the constant practice in all cities (not only in London) where persons have been indicted for high treason hath been. There never was any such thing pretended: most of these Gentlemen have freeholds, but we would not have this point lost to the city of London; so that the statute they speak of, and the interpretations of the several other statutes too, are to no purpose; for we say by common law, all causes might be tried by any persons, against whom there was not sufficient cause of challenge; and the common law is by that statute restored in this point.

*Mr. Sol. Gen.** My Lord, I have little to say, Mr. Attorney hath given a true answer to it, the foundation does fail them. It was not necessary at common law for a juryman to have a freehold: but then they must shew you, my Lord, it is altered and made necessary. The statute of Hen. V. does not seem to extend to treason, but if it did, it is now out of doors, by that of Queen Mary, whereby all trials of treasons are reduced to the common law. This is what we answer; they fail in their foundation; they do not make it out, that it was not necessary for a juryman at common law to have freehold.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. My Lord, I confess they have cited several acts of parliament, and upon them lay their foundation, and draw inferences from them; but they will find, that in several acts of parliament which they have quoted, there is a particular regard had for the preservation of the constant usage and customs for trials within the city of London. That notwithstanding several acts of parliament have in other places ascertained the value of jurors, yet they had still an eye that the city of London should continue in its usages. I think it will be necessary to put you in mind of the city of Worcester. It would be very hard, say they, because an attaint does not lie in criminal matters; if you intend by that to have people of ability, it is well

* Mr. Finch.

known that the ablest people in the city of London, have scarce any freehold in it; for that most of the inheritances of the city of London remain in the nobility and in corporations. Now in the case of my Lord Russell, he had a peremptory challenge to 35, and I think I may venture to say, there can scarce be 35 more that can call themselves freeholders in London; consider the consequence then—treason should be committed in the city of London, and there would not be enough in the city of London to try it. In the case of the *quo warranto* brought against the city of Worcester, to know by what warrant several took upon them the offices of Aldermen; the Gentlemen at the bar objected that it was reasonable that no freehold should be determined but by freeholders. But the Judges of the King's Bench (the court being full), for the necessity of the thing, lest there might not be sufficient freeholders in the city, having sent one of the Judges of that court to your Lordship's, of the Common Pleas, for that reason did agree the challenge was not good. I know these Gentlemen will please to remember the case; so that I say, as in one case we ought to be tender of the life of the prisoner, so we ought surely to be tender of the life of the King, otherwise it may so happen that the King's life may be encompassed, and treason committed in the city, and there would be no way in the world to try it; therefore we pray for the King the challenge may be over-ruled.

Mr. North. My Lord, it is the practice to make the *venire facias*, without mentioning freehold, for it does not command that they return so many men that have freehold, but *probos et legales homines de visineto;* therefore at the common law, those were good inquests to try any man that were not excommunicated, nor under any outlaw. It is true, there are statutes that say, all jurymen shall have freehold; but we say these statutes do not extend to the city of London, but that it is governed by its own customs; and we say it is the custom that citizens of ability have been returned, that have no freehold. But granting what we do not, by way of supposal, my Lord, it does not extend to this case, because trials are to be according to the use at common law, by the statute of Queen Mary, which does set them at large again; and that is the reason the prisoner, in this case, hath his challenge for 35, and as in other cases restrained to 20; so that we say, these men of ability are good, and there is no statute affects them.

L. C. J. Mr. Pollexfen, do you find any judgment, that in cases of treason by common law, they might except for want of freehold? Have you any resolution in the case?

Mr. Pollexfen. I think there are books that say at common law there must be freehold.

L. C. J. What, in treason?

Mr. Pollexfen. No, my Lord.

L. C. J. Unless you speak of treason, you do not speak *ad idem.* For I do take it, that in cases of treason, or in cases of felony, at the common law, they had no liberty to except to jurors, that they had not any freehold, but that at the common law any good and lawful men might pass. Then take, as introductive of a new law, the statute of Hen. V. I am of the mind that this statute of Hen. V. peradven-

ture, may extend to treasons and felonies; but when the statute of Queen Mary comes and says, all trials shall be by such evidence, and in such manner, as by common law they ought to have been, I do not see how it is possible to make an objection afterward of this nature. For, admitting this act of parliament of Hen. V. had altered the common law, and given a challenge, why then when the statute of Queen Mary comes and sets all trials at large in the case of treasons, then certainly the challenge is gone again; and I doubt you will not find one exception in this case, ever since that statute concerning the jury's freehold in cases of treason, but it hath generally passed otherwise, and there hath not been any ever excepted. I doubt it will be a very hard thing to maintain such a challenge now. Here are my Lords and Brothers will be pleased to deliver their opinions. It is a business of great consequence, not only for this noble person at the bar, but for all other persons.

*L. C. Bar.** I agree with your Lordship perfectly; but if the Counsel had laid a right foundation that it had been so at common law, there had been much said; but I take it at common law, there was no challenge for want of freehold; and I am induced to think so, for otherwise what needed the statute of Hen. V. been made? But whether it extend to treason or no, I am not so clear. And if it did, it's wiped off again by that of Queen Mary, which reduces all to the common law trial.

Mr. J. Windham. I am of the same opinion: I conceive at common law, lack of freehold no good cause of challenge. It is true, that challenge is given in some cases by act of parliament, yet I doubt whether it extend to a thing of so high a nature as treason, for other statutes have not mentioned any thing of treason. But suppose 2 Hen. V. did extend to it, yet it is very plain, the statute of 1 and 2 Queen Mary, hath set all at large again, they are to be good and lawful men, and I do not find that any thing of the lawfulness must be the freehold. And, therefore, I conceive this is no just exception in this case.

Mr. J. Jones. My Lord, I am of the same opinion; I am of opinion that the common law did not require freehold to be a good cause of challenge, in the case of treason, and the rather, because at the common law a man that was indicted of high treason had liberty to challenge, peremptorily, to the number of 35 persons. My Lord, if the common law be altered by the statute of Hen. V. yet I take it that the statute of 1 and 2 Ph. and M. does restore the common law in this particular point. For whereas there was a statute of Hen. VIII. to restrain the prisoner to the number of 20 for his challenge, now the statute restoring it to common law, the prisoner hath his challenge to 35, as he had before the statute of Hen. VIII. So I take it, the King shall have his privilege also to try a prisoner for treason, by persons that have not freehold.

Mr. J. Charlton. I am of the same opinion; and truly the rather, because no precedent hath been offered of any such challenge before, and many men have suffered, and sure if it could have been, how many would have made use of it.

* William Montague, Esq.

Mr. J. Levins. I am of opinion it is not to be allowed. I do not think myself driven to the necessity to determine now, whether freehold was a good challenge at common law in point of treason. I think the statute of Ph. and M. hath restored the trials to the common law. What was the common law? The common law is the custom of England, which is other in cities than in counties, and the custom of London is part of that common law. So though it be a cause of challenge in a county at large, yet it is not a cause of challenge in cities, where freeholders are not to be found. Now that which satisfies me is, that this custom is restored by the statute of Ph. and Mary; because never such a challenge hath been. And it is known when twenty were tried for treason together in this very place, and one of them a notable cunning lawyer, and if such a challenge were to have been allowed, no doubt he would have made use of it, but the challenge was not taken, and if he had made such a challenge, and it had been allowed, perhaps he could not have been tried: that was Cook. I have heard several persons tried for treason myself, and never heard it taken. Therefore I am of opinion, that before any statute was made in this case, it was the custom in London to try without freeholds, and since, by the statute of Queen Mary, it is restored.

Mr. Bar. Street. I think there was no such challenge at common law. The jury were only to be *probos et legales homines*, and no more, till the statute made it so; but there is a particular reservation for corporations. And certainly, if this should be admitted to be a good challenge, though it were between party and party, there would be in some corporations a perfect failure of justice. So that, without doubt, at common law there was no such challenge. As for the statute of Hen. V. it is gone by that of Queen Mary. If this were admitted within London, nothing would be more mischievous to this corporation. Methinks we have been very nice in this matter, when the life of the King is at stake, and all the customs and privileges of the city of London seem to be levelled at this point. I am of opinion, with the rest of the Judges, that this challenge ought to be over-ruled.

J. Withins. I am of the same opinion.

L. C. J. My Lord, the Court is of opinion, upon hearing your Counsel and the King's, that it is no good challenge to a jury in a case of treason, that he has not freedom within the city. But I must tell your Lordship withal, that your Lordship has nothing of hardship in this case, for notwithstanding that, I must tell you, you will have as good a jury, and better than you should have had in a county of 4l. or 40s. a year freeholders. The reason of the law for freeholds is, that no slight persons should be put upon a jury, where the life of a man or his estate comes in question; but in the city the persons that are impanelled are men of quality and substance, men that have a great deal to lose. And therefore your Lordship hath the same in substance, as if a challenge was allowed of freehold. It will be no kind of prejudice to your Lordship in this case. Therefore, if you please, apply yourself as the jury is called, and make your exceptions if you shall make any.

L. C. J. **Mr. Pollexfen, you shall have liberty to stay any where here, if you please.**

Counsel. **Here is such a great crowd, my Lord, we have no room.**

Then the jury-men were called, and after the Lord Russell had challenged one and thirty of them, the jury sworn were as follows:

John Martin,	William Butler,
William Rouse,	James Pickering,
Jervas Seaton,	Thomas Jeve,
William Fashion,	Hugh Noden,
Thomas Short,	Robert Brough,
George Toriano,	Thomas Oneby.

Then was made proclamation for information.

Cl. of Cr. William Russell, Esq. hold up thy hand (which he did). You of the jury look upon the prisoner, and hearken to his cause. He stands indicted by the name of ——— *prout* before in the indictment. Upon this indictment he hath been arraigned, and therefore pleaded Not Guilty, and for this trial hath put himself upon his country, which country you are: Your charge is to inquire whether he be guilty of this high treason whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty: if you find him guilty, you shall inquire, &c.

Mr. North. May it please your Lordship, and you that are sworn, the prisoner at the bar stands charged in this indictment with no less than the conspiring the death of the King's Majesty, and that in order to the same, he did, with other traitors named in the indictment, and others not known, November 2, in the 34th year of this King, in the parish of Bassishaw, within the city of London, meet and conspire together to bring our Sovereign Lord the King to death, to raise war and rebellion against him, and to massacre his subjects. And in order to compass these wicked designs, there being assembled, did conclude to seize the King's guards, and his Majesty's person. This is the charge: the Defendant says he is not guilty; if we prove it upon him, it will be your duty to find it.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, most of our evidence against this honourable person at the bar, is to this purpose: this person, the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Mr. Ferguson, they were the Council of State, as I may call them, to give forth directions for the general rising that hath appeared, was to have been within this kingdom. The rising was of great concern and expense, and must be managed by persons of interest, prudence, and great secrecy. These gentlemen had frequent meetings in October and November last (for then you may refresh your memories again, was the general rising to be), and there they did consult how to manage the rising; they consulted how to seize the King's guards; and this noble person being mixed with these others, especially with Ferguson, who with others of an inferior rank was also engaged in a cabal for managing worser things (though this is bad enough); at several meetings they receive messages from my Lord Shaftsbury touching the rising: they being looked upon as the persons that were to conclude and settle the time and all circumstances about it.

We shall make it appear to you in the course of our evidence, that those underlings (for this was the great consult, and moved all the other wheels) who managed the assassination, did take notice that these lords and gentlemen of quality were to manage and clear the whole business of the rising. It seems these gentlemen could not give the Earl of Shaftsbury satisfaction to his mind, for he pressed them to keep their day, which was the 17th of November last; but the honourable person at the bar, and the rest, made him this answer, That Mr. Trenchard had failed them, for that he had promised to have 1000 foot and two or 300 horse at four hours' warning, but now it was come to pass he could not perform it, that some persons in the West would not join with them, and therefore at this time they could not proceed; and therefore they must defer the day, and, as a counsel, they sent my Lord Shaftsbury word, he must be contented, they had otherwise resolved, and thereupon my Lord Shaftsbury went away, and Mr. Ferguson with him.

To carry on this practice, they took others into their council, Sir Thomas Armstrong was left out, and there falling that scandalous report upon my Lord Grey, he was to be left out, and then there was to be a new council of six, whereas the inferior council to manage the assassination was seven. At this council there was this honourable person at the bar, the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Howard, and another honourable, who I am sorry to name upon this account, who hath this morning prevented the hand of justice upon himself, my Lord of Essex, and Colonel Sidney, and Mr. Hampden: these six had their frequent consults at this honourable person's house; for they had excluded Sir Thomas Armstrong and my Lord Grey, for these gentlemen would have the face of religion, and my Lord Grey was in their esteem so scandalous, that they thought that would not prevail with the people if he was of the council. There they debated how they should make this rising; after several consultations they came to this resolution: That before they did fall upon this rising, they should have an exact account both of the time and method of the Scotch rising, and thereupon a messenger was sent on purpose by Colonel Sidney, viz. Aaron Smith, to invite Scotch Commissioners to treat with these noble lords. Pursuant to this, just before the plot brake out, several from Scotland came to treat with them how to manage the work; 30,000*l.* was demanded by the Scots, in order that they should be ready in Scotland; then they fell to 10,000, and at last (for the Scots love money) they fell to 5000, which they would take and run all hazards, but they not coming to their terms, that broke off; that week the plot was discovered.

Gentlemen, if we prove all these instances, besides, we shall call some to shew you that all the inferior party still looked upon these to be the heads; and though they kept it secret, God hath suffered it to come to light, with as plain an evidence as ever was heard.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. I will not take up any of your Lordship's time; we will call our witnesses to prove the fact Mr. Attorney hath opened. Swear Colonel Ramsey

(which was done). Pray Colonel Rumsey will you give my Lord and the Jury an account, from the beginning to the end, of the several meetings that were, and what were the debates of those meetings.

Col. Rum. My Lord, I was at my Lord Shaftsbury's lodging, where he lay, down by Wapping about the latter end of October, or the beginning of November, and he told me there was met at one Mr. Shephard's house the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Russell, my Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Mr. Ferguson; and he desired me to speak to them to know what resolution they were come to about the rising of Taunton: I did go there accordingly, and call for Mr. Shephard, and he carried me up where they were, and the answer that was there made me was, that Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and there would no more be done in the matter at that time.

Mr. At. Gen. Tell the whole passage.

Col. Rum. I did say my Lord Shaftsbury had sent me to know what resolution they had taken about the rising of Taunton. They made me this answer, that Mr. Trenchard had failed them; that he had promised 1000 foot and 300 horse, but when he came to perform it he could not. He thought the people would not meddle unless they had some time to make provision for their families.

L. C. J. Who had you this message from?

Col. Rumsey. Mr. Ferguson did speak most of it.

L. C. J. Who sent this message back?

Col. Rumsey. Mr. Ferguson made the answer; my Lord Russell and the Duke of Monmouth were present, and I think my Lord Grey did say something to the same purpose.

Mr. At. Gen. Pray how often were you with them at that house?

Col. Rumsey. I do not know, I was there more than once—I was there either another time, or else I heard Mr. Ferguson make a report of another meeting to my Lord Shaftsbury.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Was my Lord Russell in the room when this debate was?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, my Lord.

Mr. At. Gen. What did they say farther?

Col. Rumsey. That was all at that time that I remember.

Mr. At. Gen. Was there nothing of my Lord Shaftsbury to be contented?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, that my Lord Shaftsbury must be contented; and upon that he took his resolution to be gone.

L. C. J. Did you hear any such resolution from him?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, my Lord.

Mr. At. Gen. Did you know any of their meeting there, or was it by my Lord Shaftsbury's direction?

Col. Rumsey. No, but my Lord told me I should find such persons, and I accordingly found them; and this answer was given.

Mr. At. Gen. What time did you stay?

Col. Rumsey. I think I was not there above a quarter of an hour.

Mr. At. Gen. Was there any discourse happened while you were there about a declaration?

Col. Rumsey. I am not certain whether I did hear something about a declaration there, or that Mr. Ferguson did report it to my Lord Shaftsbury, that they had debated it.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. To what purpose was the declaration?

L. C. J. We must do the prisoner that right; he says he cannot tell whether he had it from him or Mr. Ferguson.

Mr. At. Gen. Did you hear no discourse to what it tended?

Col. Rumsey. My Lord, there was some discourse about seeing what posture the guards were in.

One of the Jury. By whom, Sir?

Col. Rumsey. By all the company that was there.

L. C. J. What was that discourse?

Col. Rumsey. To see what posture they were in, that they might know how to surprise them.

L. C. J. The guards?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, that were at the Savoy and the Mews.

L. C. J. Whose were the words? Tell the words as near as you can.

Col. Rumsey. My Lord, the discourse was, that some should ——

L. C. J. Who made that discourse?

Col. Rumsey. My Lord, I think Sir Thomas Armstrong begun it, and Mr. Ferguson.

Mr. At. Gen. Was it discoursed among all the company?

Col. Rumsey. All the company did debate it. Afterwards they thought it necessary to see with what care and vigilance they did guard themselves at the Savoy and Mews, whether they might be surprised or not.

Mr. At. Gen. Were there any undertook to go and see there?

Col. Rumsey. There were some persons.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Name them.

Col. Rumsey. I think the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Was my Lord Russell, the prisoner, there, when they undertook to take the view?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, Sir.

Mr. At. Gen. To what purpose was the view?

Col. Rumsey. To surprise them, if the rising had gone on.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Did you observe by the debates that happened, that they did take notice there was a rising intended?

Col. Rumsey. Yes.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. And that direction was given to take a view of the guards if the rising had gone on?

Col. Rumsey. Yes.

L. C. J. Pray, Sir, declare justly the discourse.

Col. Rumsey. I went to them from my Lord Shaftsbury; and I did tell them, that my Lord did pray they would come to some resolution; and they told me, Mr. Trenchard they depended upon for Taunton had failed them, who when he came up to town first at the Term, had assured them, that in three or four hours' time he could have one thousand foot and three hundred horse; but now it came to be tried, he answered it was not possible for him to undertake it, for

people would not rush into it of a sudden, but have some time to prepare for their families.

Mr. At. Gen. Was it pretended there should be a rising at that time?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, the 19th of November was appointed for the rising.

L. C. J. Was it before that time you went to press them from my Lord Shaftsbury?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, I think it was the matter of a fortnight before, or something more; for I think it was concluded Sunday fortnight after my Lord Grey met.

Mr. At. Gen. But you say, besides what you heard there, you understood there was to be a rising at that time: was you to be engaged in this?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, I was.

L. C. J. You must speak so, that what you deliver may be sensible; for if you speak, I apprehend so and so, that will be doubtful.

Col. Rumsey. No, my Lord, the rising was determined, and I was to have gone to Bristol.

Mr. At. Gen. In what capacity, as Colonel or Captain?

Col. Rumsey. There was no determination of that—no quality.

L. C. J. By whose appointment was that?

Col. Rumsey. My Lord Shaftsbury spake that to me.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. But pray, Col. Rumsey, this you are very able to know what the debates were, and need not be pumped with so many questions; pray, was there any debate when you came with the message from my Lord Shaftsbury's: was there a debate about the rising?

Col. Rumsey. There was no debate of it, because they made answer, Mr. Trenchard had failed them.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. But did not they take notice of the rising? Give an account of it.

Col. Rumsey. I have done it twice.

Jury. We desire to know the message from the Lord Shaftsbury.

L. C. J. Direct yourself to the Court: some of the Gentlemen have not heard it; they desire you would, with a little more loud voice, repeat the message you were sent of from my Lord Shaftsbury.

Col. Rumsey. I was sent by my Lord to know the resolution of the rising in Taunton; they answered, Mr. Trenchard, whom they depended upon for the men, had failed them, and that it must fall at that time, and my Lord must be contented.

Mr. At. Gen. Was the prisoner at the bar present at that debate?

Col. Rumsey. Yes.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Did you find him averse to it, or agreeing to it?

Col. Rumsey. Agreeing to it.

Baron Street. What said my Lord Shaftsbury?

Col. Rumsey. Upon my return, he said he would be gone, and accordingly did go.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. If my Lord Russell pleases to ask him any questions, he may.

L. Russell. Must I ask him now?

L. C. J. Yes, my Lord, propose your questions to me.

L. Russell. I have very few questions to ask him, for I know little of the matter; for it was the greatest accident in the world I was there, and when I saw that company was there, I would have been gone again. I came there accidentally, to speak with Mr. Shephard; I was just come to town; but there was no discourse about surprising the guards, nor no undertaking of raising an army.

L. C. J. We will hear you any thing by and by, but that which we now desire of your Lordship is, as the witnesses come, to know if you would have any particular questions asked of them.

L. Russell. I desire to know, if I gave any answer to any message about the rising: I was up and down; I do not know what they might say when I was in the room; I was tasting of wine.

L. C. J. Did you observe that my Lord Russell said any thing there, and what?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, my Lord Russell did speak.

L. C. J. About what?

Col. Rumsey. About the rising of Taunton.

L. Russell. It was Sir Thomas Armstrong that conversed with Mr. Trenchard.

L. C. J. What did you observe my Lord Russell to say?

Col. Rumsey. My Lord Russell did discourse of the rising.

L. Russell. How should I discourse of the rising at Taunton, that knew not the place, nor had knowledge of Trenchard?

Mr. At. Gen. Now, my Lord, we will give you an account that my Lord Russell appointed this place, and came in the dark without his coach.

L. Russell. My Lord, I think the witness was asked if I gave my consent.

L. C. J. What say you, did my Lord give any consent to the rising?

Col. Rumsey. Yes, my Lord, he did.

Mr. At. Gen. Pray swear Mr. Shephard (which was done). Pray will you speak aloud, and give an account to my Lord and the Jury, of the meetings at your house, and what was done?

Mr. Shephard. In the month of October last, as I remember, Mr. Ferguson came to me in the Duke of Monmouth's name, and desired the conveniency of my house, for him and some other persons of quality to meet there. And as soon as I had granted it, in the evening the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, my Lord Russell, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Col. Rumsey, and Mr. Ferguson came. Sir Thomas Armstrong desired me, that none of my servants might come up, but they might be private; so that what they wanted I went down for—a bottle of wine or so. The substance of their discourse was, how to surprise the King's guards; and in order to that, the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, as I remember, went one night to the Mews, or thereabouts, to see the King's guards: and the next time they came to my house, I heard Sir Thomas Armstrong say, the guards

were very remiss in their places, and not like soldiers, and the thing was feasible, if they had strength to do it.

Mr. At. Gen. How many meetings had you there?

Mr. Shephard. I remember but twice, Sir.

Mr. At. Gen. Did they meet by chance, or had you notice they would be there that night?

Mr. Shephard. Yes, I did hear it before.

Mr. Sol. Gen. Who had you notice would be there?

Mr. Shephard. The Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, my Lord Russell, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Col. Rumsey, and Mr. Ferguson.

Mr. At. Gen. Did they come with their coaches, or a-foot, in the night-time, and in the dark?

Mr. Shephard. I cannot tell; it was in the evening; I did not let them in.

Mr. At. Gen. Were there any coaches at the door?

Mr. Shephard. None that I heard or saw, they came not altogether, but immediately one after another.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Had they any debate before they went into the room?

Mr. Shephard. No, they went readily into the room?

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Was my Lord Russell both times there?

Mr. Shephard. Yes, Sir, as I remember.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Had you any particular business with my Lord Russell, or he with you?

Mr. Shephard. No, not at that time, but since I have had, about the affairs of my Lord Shaftsbury.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Do you remember Col. Rumsey at the first time had any discourse about any private business relating to my Lord Russell?

Mr. Shephard. No, I do not remember it.

Mr. At. Gen. Besides the seizing of the guards, did they discourse about rising?

Mr. Shephard. I do not remember any further discourse, for I went several times down to fetch wine, and sugar, and nutmeg, and I do not know what was said in my absence.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Do you remember any writings or papers read at that time?

Mr. Shephard. None that I saw.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Or that you heard of?

Mr. Shephard. Yes, now I recollect myself, I do remember one paper was read.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. To what purpose was it?

Mr. Shephard. It was somewhat in the nature of a declaration; it was read by Mr. Ferguson; who was present at the reading, I cannot say, whether they were all present or not. The purport of it was setting forth the grievances of the nation, but truly what particulars I cannot tell: it was a pretty large paper.

Mr At. Gen. But you can tell the effect of it; when was that to be sent out?

Mr. Shephard. It was not discoursed; it was shewn only, I suppose, for approbation.

Mr. At. Gen. Who was it shew'd to?

Mr. Shephard. Sir Thomas Armstrong.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. Who else?

Mr. Shephard. As I remember, the Duke was present, and I think Col. Rumsey.

Col. Rumsey. No, I was not, it was done before I came.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. What was the design of that paper? Recollect yourself, what was the design?

Mr. Shephard. The design of that paper was in the nature of a declaration, setting forth the grievances of the nation, in order to a rising, I suppose by the purport of the paper; but cannot remember the particular words of it.

Foreman of the Jury. Can you say my Lord Russell was there, when that declaration was read, as you call it?

Mr. Shephard. I cannot say that.

Mr. At. Gen. But he was there when he talked of seising the guards?

Mr. Shephard. Yes, my Lord was there then.

L. Russell. Pray, Mr. Shephard, do you remember the time when these meetings were?

Mr. Shephard. I cannot be positive as to the time; I remember it was at the time my Lord Shaftsbury was absent from his own house, and he absented himself from his own house about Michaelmas-day; but I cannot be positive as to the time.

L. Russell. I never was but once at your house, and there was no such design as I heard of. I desire that Mr. Shepherd may recollect himself.

Mr. Shephard. Indeed, my Lord, I cannot be positive in the times. My Lord, I am sure, was at one meeting.

L. C. J. But was he at both?

Mr. Shephard. I think so; but it was eight or nine months ago, and I cannot be positive.

L. Russell. I can prove I was then in the country. Col. Rumsey said there was but one meeting.

Col. Rumsey. I do not remember I was at two; if I was not, I heard Mr. Ferguson relate the debates of the other meeting to my Lord Shaftsbury.

L. Russell. Is it usual for the witnesses to hear one another?

L. C. J. I think your Lordship need not concern yourself about that, for I see the witnesses are brought in one after another.

L. Russell. There was no design.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. He hath sworn it.

Mr. At. Gen. Swear my Lord Howard (which was done). Pray will your Lordship give an account to the Court, what you know of a rising designed before my Lord Shaftsbury went away, and afterward how it was continued on?

L. Howard. My Lord, I appear with some confusion. Let no man wonder that it is troublesome to me. My Lord, as to the question Mr. Attorney puts to me, this is the account I have to give. It is very well known to every one, how great a ferment was made in the city, upon occasion of the long dispute about the election of sheriffs: and this soon produced a greater freedom and liberty of speech one with another, than perhaps had been used formerly, though not without some previous prepa-

rations and dispositions made to the same thing. Upon this occasion, among others, I was acquainted with Captain Walcot, a person that had been some months in England, being returned out of Ireland, and who indeed I had not seen for eleven years before. But he came to me as soon as he came out of Ireland; and when these unhappy divisions came, he made very frequent applications to me; and though he was unknown himself, yet being brought by me, he soon gained a confidence with my Lord Shaftsbury, and from him derived it to others, when this unhappy rent and division of mind was, he having before got himself acquainted with many persons of the city, had entered into such counsels with them, as afterward had the effect, which in the ensuing narrative I shall relate to your Lordship. He came to me and told me, that they were now sensible all they had was going, that this force put upon them—

[*At that time news was brought into the court that the Earl of Essex had murthered himself.*]

L. C. J. Pray, my Lord, raise your voice, else your evidence will pass for nothing.

One of the Jury. We cannot hear, my Lord.

L. Howard. There is an unhappy accident happened that hath sunk my voice; I was but just now acquainted with the fate of my Lord of Essex.—My Lord, I say, he came to me and did acquaint me, that the people were now so sensible that all their interest was going, by that violence offered to the city in their elections, that they were resolved to take some course to put a stop to it, if it were possible: he told me there were several consults and meetings of persons about it, and several persons had begun to put themselves into a disposition and preparation to act; that some had furnished themselves with very good horses, and kept them in the most secret and blind stables they could; that divers had intended it, and for his own part, he was resolved to embark himself in it. And having an estate in Ireland, he thought to dispatch his son thither (for he had a good real estate, and a great stock; how he disposed of his real estate I know not); but he ordered his son to turn his stock into money to furnish him for the occasion: this I take to be about August. His son was sent away. Soon after this, the son not being yet returned, and I having several accounts from him wherein I found the fermentation grew higher and higher, and every day a nearer approach to action: I told him I had a necessity to go into Essex to attend the concerns of my own estate, but told him how he might, by another name, convey letters to me, and gave him a little cant, by which he might blind and disguise the matter he wrote about, when I was in the country. I received two or three letters from him that gave me an account, in that disguised stile, but such as I understood, that the negociation which he had with my correspondents was going on, and in good condition; and it was earnestly desired I would come to town: this was the middle of September. I, notwithstanding, was willing to see the result of that great affair, upon which all men's eyes were fixed, which was the determination of the Shrivalty about that time. So I ordered it to fall into town,

and went to my house on Saturday night, which was Michaelmas-day. On Sunday he came to me and dined with me, and told me (after a general account given me of the affairs of the times) that my Lord Shaftsbury was secreted, and withdrawn from his own house in Aldersgate-street; and that though he had a family settled, and had absconded himself from them, and divers others of his friends and confidants, yet he did desire to speak to me, and for that purpose sent him to shew me the way to his lodging: he brought me to a house at the lower end of Wood-street, one Watson's house, and there my Lord was alone. He told me he could not but be sensible, how innocent soever he was, both he and all honest men were unsafe, so long as the administration of justice was in such hands as would accommodate all things to the humour of the Court. That in the sense of this he thought it but reasonable to provide for his own safety, by withdrawing himself from his own house into that retirement. That now he had ripened affairs into that head, and had things in that preparation, he did not doubt but he should be able, by those men that would be in readiness in London, to turn the tide, and put a stop to the torrent that was ready to overflow. But he did complain to me, that his design, and the design of the public, was very much obstructed by the unhandsome deportment of the Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Russell, who had withdrawn themselves, not only from his assistance, but from their own engagements and appointments. For when he had got such a formed force as he had in London, and expected to have it answered by them in the country, they did recede from it, and told him they were not in a condition, or preparation in the country, to be concurrent with him at that time. This he looked upon but as an artificial excuse, and as an instance of their intentions wholly to desert him; but notwithstanding there was such preparations made in London, that if they were willing to lose the honour of being concurrent with them, he was able to do it himself, and did intend speedily to put it into execution. I asked him what forces he had; he said enough. Says I, what are you assured of? Says he, there is above ten thousand brisk boys are ready to follow me, whenever I hold up my finger:—Says I, how have you methoded this, that they shall not be crushed, for there will be a great force to oppose you? Yes, he answered, but they would possess themselves of the gates; and these ten thousand men, in twenty-four hours, would be multiplied into five times the number, and be able to make a sally out, and possess themselves of Whitehall, by beating the guards. I told him this was a fair story, and I had reason to think a man of his figure would not undertake a thing that might prove so fatal, unless it were laid on a foundation that might give a prudent man ground to hope it would be successful. He said he was certain of it, but confessed it was a great disappointment that these Lords had failed him: I told him, I was not provided with an answer at that time; that he well knew me, and knew the general frame and bent of my spirit. But I told him I looked upon it as dangerous, and ought to be laid deep, and to be very well weighed and considered of; and did not think it a fit thing to be entered

upon without the concurrence of those Lords; and therefore desired, before I discovered my own inclination, to discourse with those Lords. He did consent, with much ado; but, says he, you will find they will waive it, and give doubtful and deferring answers, but you will find this a truth. I went to Moor Park the next day, where the Duke of Monmouth was, and told him the great complaint my Lord Shaftsbury had made, that he failed him. Says he, I think he is mad; I was so far from giving him any encouragement, that I did tell him from the beginning, and so did my Lord Russell, there was nothing to be done by us in the country at that time. I did not then own I had seen my Lord, but speak as if this were brought me by a third person, because he had not given me liberty to tell them where his lodging was. Says I, my Lord, I shall be able to give a better account of this in a day or two: Shall I convey it to my Lord, that you are willing to give a meeting? Yes, says he, with all my heart: this was the second, third, or fourth of October: I came to town on Saturday, and was carried to him on Monday; and I suppose this was Tuesday, the second of October: on Wednesday I think I went to him again (but it is not very material), and told him I had been with the Duke of Monmouth, and give him a punctual account of what I had from him; and the Duke did absolutely disown any such thing; and told me he never did give him any encouragement to proceed that way, because the countries were not in a disposition for action, nor could be put in readiness at that time: says my Lord Shaftsbury, it is false; they are afraid to own it. And, says he, I have reason to believe, there is some artificial bargain between his father and him, to save one another; for when I have brought him to action, I could never get him to put on, and therefore I suspect him: and, says he, several honest men in the city have puzzled me in asking how the Duke of Monmouth lived: says he, they puzzled me, and I could not answer the question; for I know he must have his living from the King; and, says he, we have different prospects: we are for a commonwealth, and he had no other design but his own personal interest, and that will not go down with my people now (so he called them); they are all for a commonwealth: and then, says he, it is to no purpose for me to see him; it will but widen the breach, and I dare not trust him to come hither. Says I, my Lord, that is a good one indeed—dare not you trust him, and yet do you send me to him on this errand? Nay, says he, it is because we have had some misunderstanding of late; but I believe he is true enough to the interest. Says I, it is a great unhappiness to take this time to fall out; and I think it is so great a design, that it ought to be undertaken with the greatest strength and coalition in the kingdom. Says he, my friends are now gone so far, that they cannot pull their foot back again without going further; for, says he, it hath been communicated to so many, that it is impossible to keep it from taking air, and it must go on. Says he, we are not so unprovided as you think for; there are so many men, that you will find as brisk men as any in England. Besides, we are to have 1000 or

1500 horse, that are to be drawn by insensible parties into town, that when the insurrection is, shall be able to scour the streets, and hinder them from forming their forces against us. My Lord, after great enlargement upon this head, and heads of the like nature, I told him I would not leave him thus, and that nothing should satisfy me, but an interview between him and the Lords: no, I could not obtain it: but if I would go and tell them what a forwardness, he was in, and that, if they would do themselves right, by putting themselves upon correspondent action in their respective places, and where their interest lay, well; otherwise he would go away without them: So I went again to the Duke of Monmouth. I spake to him only (I never spake to my Lord Russell then, only we were together; but I had never come to any close conjunction of counsels in my life with him at that time). Says I to the Duke, this man is mad, and his madness will prove fatal to us all; he hath been in a fright by being in the Tower, and carries those fears about him, that cloud his understanding: I think his judgment hath deserted him, when he goes about with those strange sanguine hopes, that I cannot see what should support him in the ground of them. Therefore, says I, pray will you give him a meeting. God-so, says the Duke, with all my heart, and I desire nothing more. Now, I told him, I had been with my Lord Shaftsbury, with other enlargements that I need not trouble your Lordship with. Well, says he, pray go to him, and try if possible to get a meeting. So I went to him, and told him:—Says I, this is a great unhappiness, and it seems to be a great absurdity, that you are so forward to act alone in a such a thing as this. Pray, says I, without any more to do, since you have this confidence to send for me, let me prevail with you to meet them, and give them an interview, or else you and I must break. I will no longer hold any correspondence, unless it be so. Says he, I tell you they will betray me. In short, he did, with much importunity, yield, that he would come out the next night in a disguise. By this time it was Saturday; I take it to be the 6th of October; an almanack will settle that: so the next night, being Sunday, and the shops shut, he would come out in a concealment, be carried in a coach, and brought to his own house, which he thought then was safest. I came and gave the Duke of Monmouth an account of it: the Duke, I suppose, conveyed the same understanding to my Lord Russell; and, I suppose, both would have been there accordingly, to have given the meeting; but next morning I found Colonel Rumsey had left a note at my house, that the meeting could not be that day. Then I went to the Duke of Monmouth, and he had had the account before, that my Lord Shaftsbury did apprehend himself to be in some danger in that house, and that the apprehension had occasioned him to remove; but we should be sure to hear from him in two or three days. We took it as a waver, and thought he did from thence intend to abscond himself from us, and it proved so to me, for from that time I never saw him. But Captain Walcot came to me, and told me that he was withdrawn, but it was for fear his lodging might be discovered, but he did

not doubt but in a week he would let me know where his lodging was: but told me within such a time, which I think was eight or ten days, there would be a rising; and I told the Duke of Monmouth, and I believe he told my Lord Russell; and we believed his frenzy was now grown to that heighth, that he would rise immediately, and put his design in execution; so we endeavoured to prevent it. Upon which my Lord Russell (I was told) and the Duke of Monmouth, did force their way to my Lord Shaftsbury's, and did persuade him to put off the day of rendezvous. I had not this from my Lord Russell, for I had not spoke a word to him; but the Duke told me my Lord Russell had been with him (I had indeed an intimation that he had been with him), but the Duke told me, says he, I have not been with him, but my Lord Russell was, having been conveyed by Colonel Rumsey. After this day was put off, it seems it was put off with this condition, that those Lords, and divers others, should be in readiness to raise the country about that day fortnight, or thereabouts; for there was not a fortnight's time given: and, says the Duke of Monmouth, we have put it off; but now we must be in action, for there is no holding it off any longer. And, says he, I have been at Wapping all night, and I never saw a company of bolder and brisker fellows in my life: and, says he, I have been round the Tower, and seen the avenues of it; and I do not think it will be hard, in a little time, to possess ourselves of it: but, says he, they are in the wrong way, yet we are engaged to be ready for them in a fortnight, and therefore, says he, now we must apply ourselves to it as well as we can. And thereupon I believe they did send into the country; and the Duke of Monmouth told me, he spake to Mr. Trenchard, who was to take particular care of Somersetshire, with this circumstance: says he, I thought Mr. Trenchard had been a brisker fellow; for when I had told him of it, he looked so pale, I thought he would have swooned, when I brought him to the brink of action; and, said I, pray go and do what you can among your acquaintance; and truly, I thought it would have come then to action. But I went the next day to him, and he said it was impossible; they could not get the Gentlemen of the country to stir yet.

L. Russell. My Lord, I think I have very hard measure; here is a great deal of evidence by hearsay.

L. C. J. This is nothing against you, I declare it to the jury.

Mr. At. Gen. If it please you, my Lord, go on in the method of time. This is nothing against you, but it is coming to you, if your Lordship will have patience, I assure you.

L. Howard. This is just in the order it was done. When this was put off, then they were in a great hurry; and Captain Walcot had been several times with me, and discoursed of it. But upon this disappointment, they said it should be the dishonour of the Lords, that they were backward to perform their parts; but still they were resolved to go on. And this had carried it to the latter end of October. About the 17th or 18th, Captain Walcot came to me, and told me, now they were resolved positively to rise, and did believe that a smart party might perhaps meet with some great

men. Thereupon I told the Duke of it; I met him in the street, and went out of my own coach into his, and told him, that there was some dark intimation, as if there might be some attempt upon the King's person: with that he struck his breast with great emotion of spirit, and said, God-so, kill the King! I will never suffer that. Then he went to the playhouse to find Sir Thomas Armstrong, and send him up and down the city to put it off, as they did formerly; and it was done with that success, that we were all quieted in our minds, that at that time nothing would be done: but upon the day the King came from Newmarket, we dined together: the Duke of Monmouth was one; and there we had a notion conveyed among us, that some bold action should be done that day; which, comparing it with the King's coming, we concluded it was designed upon the King. And I remember my Lord Grey, says he, by God, if they do attempt any such thing, it cannot fail. We were in great anxiety of mind, till we heard the King's coach was coming, and Sir Thomas Armstrong not being there, we apprehended that he was to be one of the party (for he was not there). This failing, it was then next determined (which was the last alarum and news I had of it) to be done upon the 17th of November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth: and I remember it by this remark I made myself, that I feared it had been discovered, because I saw a proclamation a little before, forbidding public bonfires without leave of my Lord Mayor. It made some impressions upon me, that I thought they had got an intimation of our intention, and had therefore forbid that meeting. This, therefore, of the 17th of November being also disappointed, and my Lord Shaftsbury being told things were not ripe in the country, took shipping and got away; and from that time I heard no more of him, till I heard he was dead. Now, Sir, after this we all began to lie under the same sense and apprehensions that my Lord Shaftsbury did, that we had gone so far, and communicated it to so many, that it was unsafe to make a retreat; and this being considered, it was also considered, that so great an affair as that was, consisting of such infinite particulars, to be managed with so much fineness, and to have so many parts, it would be necessary that there should be some general council, that should take upon them the care of the whole. Upon these thoughts we resolved to erect a little *cabal* among ourselves, which did consist of six persons; and the persons were, the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord of Essex, my Lord Russell, Mr. Hampden, jun., Algernoon Sidney, and myself.

Mr. At. Gen. About what time was this, when you settled this council?

L. Howard. It would have been proper for me in the next place to tell you that, and I was coming to it. This was about the middle of January last (as near as I can remember), for about that time we did meet at Mr. Hampden's house.

Mr. At. Gen. Name those that met.

L. Howard. All the persons I named before: that was, the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Essex, my Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, Mr. Hampden, jun., and myself.

When we met there, it was presently agreed what their proper province was, which was to have a care of the whole: and therefore it was necessary some general things should fall under our care and conduct, which could not possibly be conducted by individual persons. The things that did principally challenge this care, we thought were these; whether the insurrection was most proper to be begun in London, or in the country, or both at one instant. This stood upon several different reasons: it was said in the country; and I remember the Duke of Monmouth insisted upon it, that it was impossible to oppose a formed, well methodized, and governed force, with a rabble hastily got together; and therefore whatever numbers could be gathered in the city, would be suppressed quickly before they could form themselves: therefore it would be better to begin it at such a distance from the town, where they might have an opportunity of forming themselves, and would not be subject to the like panic fear, as in the town, where half an hour would convey the news to those forces, that in another half hour would be ready to suppress them.

Mr. At. Gen. Was this determined among you all?

L. Howard. In this manner that I tell you, why it was necessary to be done at some reasonable distance from the town. And from thence it was likewise considered, that the being so remote from the town, it would put the King upon this dilemma, that either the King would send his forces to subdue them, or not; if he did, he must leave the city naked, who being *proxim dispositioni* to action, it would give them occasion to rise, and come upon the back of the King's forces; if he did not send, it would give them time to form their number, and be better ordered.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, we do not desire all your discourse and debates, what was your other general thing?

L. Howard. The other was, what countries and towns were the fittest and most disposed to action: and the third, what arms were necessary to be got, and how to be disposed: and a fourth (which should have been indeed first in consideration) propounded by the Duke of Monmouth, that it would be absolutely necessary to have some common bank of £5 or 30,000*l.* to answer the occasions of such an undertaking. Nothing was done, but these things were offered then to our consideration, and we were to bring in our united advice concerning them. But the last and greatest was, how we might so order it, as to draw Scotland into a consent with us, for we thought it necessary that all the diversion should be given. This was the last.

Mr. At. Gen. Had you any other meetings?

L. Howard. We had, about ten days after this at my Lord Russell's.

Mr. At. Gen. The same persons?

L. Howard. Every one of the same persons then meeting.

Mr. At. Gen. What debate had you there?

L. Howard. Then it was so far as we came to a resolution:—That some persons should be sent to my Lord Argyle, to settle an understanding with him, and that some

messengers should be dispatched into Scotland, that should invite some persons hither, that were judged most able to understand the estate of Scotland, and give an account of it: the persons agreed on were Sir John Cockram, my Lord Melville, and another, whose name I have since been told, upon my description, Sir Cambell. For this purpose we did order a person should be thought on that was fit—

Mr. At. Gen. Do you know who was sent, and what was done upon this resolution?

L. Howard. I have heard (never saw him in six months before) that Aaron Smith was sent.

Mr. At. Gen. Who was intrusted to take care of that business?

L. Howard. Colonel Sidney. We, in discourse, did agree to refer it to Colonel Sidney, to have the care of sending a person.

Mr. At. Gen. Who acquainted you Aaron Smith was sent?

L. Howard. Colonel Sidney told me he had sent him, and given him sixty guineas for his journey.

Mr. At. Gen. What more meetings had you?

L. Howard. We did then consider that these meetings might have occasioned some observation upon us, and agreed not to meet again till the return of that messenger. He was gone, I believe, near a month before we heard any thing of him, which we wondered at, and feared some miscarriage; but if his letter had miscarried, it could have done no great hurt, for it carried only a kind of cant in it; it was under the disguise of a plantation in Carolina.

Mr. At. Gen. You are sure my Lord Russell was there?

L. Howard. Yes, Sir, I wish I could say he was not.

Mr. At. Gen. Did he sit there as a cipher? What did my Lord say?

L. Howard. Every one knows my Lord Russell is a person of great judgment, and not very lavish in discourse.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. But did he consent?

L. Howard. We did not put it to the vote, but it went without contradiction, and I took it that all there gave their consent.

Mr. Sol. Gen. The raising of money you speak of, was that put into any way?

L. Howard. No, but every man was to put themselves upon thinking of such a way, that money might be collected without administering jealousy.

Mr. At. Gen. Were there no persons to undertake for a fund?

L. Howard. No, I think not. However it was but opinion, the thing that was said, was jocosely, rather than any thing else, that my Lord of Essex had dealing in money, and therefore he was thought the most proper person to take the care of those things; but this was said rather by way of mirth than otherwise.

Mr. At. Gen. What do you know else, my Lord?

L. Howard. I was going to tell you; I am now at a full stop. For it was six weeks or more before Smith's return, and then drew on the time that it was necessary for

me to go into Essex, where I had a small concern; there I staid about three weeks; when I came back I was informed that he was returned, and Sir John Cockram was also come to town.

L. C. J. Did you meet after this?

L. Howard. No, my Lord, I tell you, that I was forced to go three weeks upon the account of my estate, and afterward I was necessitated to go to the bath, where I spent five weeks, and the time of coming from the bath to this time is five weeks more; so that all this time hath been a perfect parenthesis to me, and more than this I know not.

L. C. J. My Lord Russell, now, if your Lordship pleases, is the time for you to ask him any questions.

L. Russell. The most he hath said of me, my Lord, is only hearsay; the two times we met, it was upon no formed design, only to talk of news and talk of things in general.

L. C. J. But I will tell you what it is he testifies, that comes nearest your Lordship, that so you may consider of it, if you will ask any questions. He says, after my Lord Shaftsbury went off (all before is but inducement as to any thing that concerns your Lordship, and does not particularly touch you) after his going away, he says the party concerned with my Lord Shaftsbury did think fit to make choice of six persons to carry on the design of an insurrection, or rising, as he calls it, in the kingdom; and that to that purpose choice was made of the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord of Essex, your Lordship, my Lord Howard, Colonel Sidney, and Mr. Hampden.

L. Russell. Pray, my Lord, not to interrupt you, by what party (I know no party) were they chosen?

L. Howard. It is very true; we were not chosen by community, but did erect ourselves, by mutual agreement, one with another into this society.

L. Russell. We were people that did meet very often.

L. C. J. Will your Lordship please to have any other questions asked of my Lord Howard?

L. Russell. He says it was a formed design, when we met about no such thing.

L. C. J. He says that you did consult among yourselves, about the rising of men, and where the rising should first be, whether in the city of London, or in more foreign parts, that you had several debates concerning it; he does make mention of some of the Duke of Monmouth's arguments for its being formed in places from the city; he says you did all agree not to do any thing farther in it, till you had considered how to raise money and arms: and to engage the kingdom of Scotland in this business with you; that it was agreed among you, that a messenger should be sent into the kingdom of Scotland. Thus far he goes upon his own knowledge, as he saith; what he says after, of sending a messenger, is by report only.

Mr. At. Gen. I beg your pardon, my Lord.

L. C. J. It is so; that which he heard concerning the sending of Aaron Smith.

Mr. At. Gen. Will you ask him any questions?

L. Russell. We met, but there was no debate of any such

thing, nor putting any thing in method. But my Lord Howard is a man that hath a voluble tongue, talks very well, and is full of discourse, and we were delighted to hear him.

Mr. At. Gen. I think your Lordship did mention the Cambells?

L. Howard. I did stammer it out, but not without a parenthesis; it was a person of the alliance; and I thought of the name of the Argyles.

L. Russell. I desire your Lordship to take notice, that none of these men I ever saw; my Lord Melville I have seen, but not upon this account,

Mr. Atterbury sworn.

Mr. At. Gen. Aaron Smith did go, and Cambell he went for is here taken:—this is the messenger. Pray what do you know of the apprehending of the Cambells?

Mr. Atterbury. If it pleases your Lordship, I did not apprehend Sir Hugh Cambell myself, but he is now in my custody: he was making his escape out of a wood-monger's house, both he and his son.

Mr. At. Gen. How long did he own he had been at London?

Mr. Atterbury, Four days, and that in that time he had been at their lodgings; and that he and his son, and one Bailey, came to town together.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, we shall, besides this (now we have fixed this upon my Lord), give you an account, that these persons that were to rise, always took them as their paymasters, and expected their assistance. Mr. West, Mr. Keeling, and Mr. Leigh.

Mr. West sworn.

Mr. At. Gen. That which I call you to, is to know whether or no, in your managery of this plot, you understood any of the Lords were concerned, and which?

Mr. West. My Lord, as to my Lord Russell, I never had any conversation with him at all, but that I have heard this, that in the insurrection in November, Mr. Ferguson and Colonel Rumsey did tell me that my Lord Russell intended to go down and take his place in the west, when Mr. Trenchard had failed them:

L. C. J. What is this?

Mr. At. Gen. We have proved my Lord privy to the consults, now we go about to prove the under-actors did know it.

Mr. West. They always said my Lord Russell was the man they most depended upon, because he was a person looked upon as of great sobriety.

L. Russell. Can I hinder people from making use of my name? To have this brought to influence the Gentlemen of the Jury, and inflame them against me, is hard.

L. C. J. As to this, the giving evidence by hearsay, will not be evidence; what Colonel Rumsey, or Mr. Ferguson told Mr. West, is no evidence.

Mr. At. Gen. It is not evidence to convict a man, if there were not plain evidence before, but it plainly confirms what the other swears. But I think we need no more.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. We have evidence without it, and

will not use any thing of garniture; we will leave it as it is—we won't trouble your Lordship any farther. I think, Mr. Attorney, we have done with our evidence.

L. C. J. My Lord Russell, the King's Counsel do think to rest upon this evidence that they have given against your Lordship. I would put your Lordship in mind of those things that are material in this case, and proved against your Lordship: here is Colonel Rumsey does prove against your Lordship this:—That he was sent upon an errand, which in truth was traiterous: it was a traiterous errand sent from my Lord Shaftsbury by him to that meeting. He does swear your Lordship was at that meeting, and he delivered his errand to them, which was to know what account could be given concerning the design of the insurrection at Taunton: and he says, your Lordship being there, this return was made, That Mr. Trenchard had failed them in his undertaking in the business, and therefore my Lord Shaftsbury must be contented, and sit down satisfied as to that time. Mr. Shephard does likewise speak of the same time that your Lordship was there with the rest of the persons, the Duke and others; that there was a discourse concerning an insurrection to have been made (though he is not so particular, as to the very notion of it, as Colonel Rumsey is) as to the time they do agree.

L. Russell. Colonel Rumsey is not positive that I said or heard any thing.

L. C. J. My Lord, if you will have a little patience to hear me, I will tell you what it is presses you: there is this which I have mentioned; and Mr. Shephard does say, there was a paper, purporting a declaration, then read among the company there, which was to be printed upon the rising, setting forth the oppressions and grievances of the nation: and then my Lord Howard (after a great discourse concerning the many designs of my Lord Shaftsbury) comes particularly to your Lordship, and says, that six of you as a chosen council among yourselves (not that you were actually chosen, but as a chosen council among yourselves) did undertake to manage the great matter of the insurrection, and raising of men in order to surprise the King's guards, and for to rise (which is a rebellion in the nation). He says that you had several consults concerning it. I told you the several particulars of those consults he mentioned: now it is fit for your Lordship, and it is your time to give some answer to these things.

L. Russell. My Lord, I cannot but think myself mighty unfortunate to stand here charged with so high and heinous a crime, and that intricated and intermixed with the treasons and horrid practices and speeches of other people, the King's Counsel taking all advantages, and improving and heightening things against me. I am no lawyer, a very unready speaker, and altogether a stranger to things of this nature, and alone, and without counsel. Truly, my Lord, I am very sensible I am not so provided to make my just defence as otherwise I should do. But, my Lord, you are equal, and the Gentlemen of the Jury, I think, are men of consciences; they are strangers to me, and I hope they value innocent blood, and will consider the witnesses that

swear against me, swear to save their own lives; for howsoever legal witnesses they may be accounted, they cannot be credible. And for Colonel Rumsey, who it is notoriously known hath been so highly obliged by the King and the Duke, for him to be capable of such a design of murdering the King, I think no body will wonder, if to save his own life, he will endeavour to take away mine; neither does he swear enough to do it. And then if he did, the time, by the 13th of this King, is elapsed; it must be, as I understand by the law, prosecuted within six months; and by the 25 Ed. III. a design of levying war is no treason, unless by some overt act it appear. And, my Lord, I desire to know what statute I am to be tried upon, for generals, I think, are not to be gone upon in these cases.

L. C. J. (To the Attorney General). Mr. Attorney, you hear what it is my Lord objects to this evidence; he says, that as to those witnesses that testify any thing concerning him, above six months before he was prosecuted, he conceives the act of parliament, upon which he takes himself to be indicted, does not extend to it, for that says, that within six months there ought to have been a prosecution: and my Lord tells you, that he is advised, that a design of levying war, without actually levying of war, was not treason before that statute.

Mr. At. Gen. To satisfy my Lord he is not indicted upon that statute, we go upon the 25 Ed. III. But then for the next objection, surely my Lord is informed wrong. To raise a rebellion, or a conspiracy, within the kingdom, it is not that which is called levying of war in that statute, but to raise a number of men, to break prisons, &c. which is not so directly tending against the life of the King. To prepare forces to fight against the King, that is a design within that statute to kill the King; and to design to depose the King, to imprison the King, to raise the subjects against the King, these have been settled by several resolutions to be within that statute, and evidences of a design of killing the King.

L. Russell. My Lord, this is a matter of law; neither was there but one meeting at Mr. Shephard's house.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, if you admit the fact, and will rest upon the point of law, I am ready to argue it with any of your counsel. I will acquaint your Lordship how the evidence stands. There is one evidence since Christmas last.

L. Russell. That is not to the business of Shephard's house. My Lord, one witness will not convict a man of treason.

Mr. At. Gen. If there be one witness of one act of treason, and another of a second, another of a third, that manifest the same treason to depose or destroy the King, that will be sufficient.

L. C. J. My Lord, that has been resolved; the two witnesses the statute requires are not to the same individual act, but to the same treason; if they be several acts, declaring the same treason, and one witness to each of them, they have been reckoned two witnesses within the statute of Ed. III.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. If my Lord will call his witness——

L. Russell. This is tacking of two treasons together; here is one in November by one witness, and then you bring on another with a discourse of my Lord Howard, and he says the discourse passed for pleasure.

L. C. J. If your Lordship do doubt whether the fact proved against your Lordship be treason or not, within the statute of Edw. III. and you are contented that the fact be taken as proved against your Lordship, and so desire counsel barely upon that, that is matter of law, you shall have it granted.

L. Russell. I am not knowing in the law. I think it is not proved, and if it was, I think it is not punishable by that act. I desire counsel may be admitted upon so nice a point. My life lies at stake; here is but one witness that speaks of a message.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. The fact must be left to the jury, therefore if my Lord Russell hath any witnesses to call in opposition to these matters, let him.

L. C. J. My Lord, there can be no matter of law but upon a fact admitted and stated.

L. Russell. My Lord, I do not think it proved; I hope you will be counsel for me; it is very hard for me that my counsel may not speak for me in a point of law.

L. C. J. My Lord, to hear your counsel concerning this fact, that we cannot do; it was never done, nor will be done. If your Lordship doubts whether this fact is treason or not, and desire your counsel may be heard to that, I will do it.

L. Russell. I doubt in law, and do not see the fact is proved upon me.

Mr. Sol. Gen. Will your Lordship please to call any witness to the matter of fact.

L. Russell. It is very hard a man must lose his life upon hearsay. Colonel Rumsey says he brought a message, which I will swear I never heard nor knew of. He does not say he spoke to me, or I gave him any answer. Mr. Shephard remembers no such thing; he was gone to and again, here is but one witness, and seven months ago.

Mr. At. Gen. My Lord, if there be any thing that is law, you shall have it.

L. Russell. My Lord, Colonel Rumsey, the other day, before the King, could not say that I heard it. I was in the room, but I came in late; they had been there a good while; I did not stay above a quarter of an hour tasting sherry with Mr. Shephard.

L. C. J. Read the statute of 25 Edw. III. c. 2. My brothers desire to have it read.

Cl. of Cr. 'Whereas divers opinions have been before this time, in what case treason shall be said, and in what not; the King, at the request of the Lords and the Commons, hath made a declaration in the manner as hereafter foloweth:—that is to say, when a man doth compass or imagine the death of our Lord the King, or of our Lady his Queen, or of their eldest Son and Heir; or if a man do violate the King's Companion, or the King's eldest Daughter unmarried, or the Wife of the King's eldest Son and Heir; or if a man do levy war against our Lord the King, in his realm, or be adherent to the King's enemies in his realm,

giving to them aid and comfort in the realm or elsewhere, and thereof be provable attainted of open deed by people of their condition. And if a man counterfeit the King's great or privy seal, or his money: and if a man bring false money into this realm, counterfeit to the money of England, as the money called Lushburg, or other like to the said money of England, knowing the money to be false, to merchandise or make payment, in deceit of our said Lord the King, and of his people: and if a man slay the Chancellor, Treasurer, or the King's Justices of the one Bench or the other, Justices in Eyre, or Justices of Assize, and all other Justices designed to hear and determine, being in their places during their offices. And it is to be understood, that in the cases above rehearsed, that ought to be judged treason, which extends to our Lord the King and his Royal Majesty.'

L. C. J. My Lord, that which is urged against you by the King's Counsel, is this:—You are accused by the indictment of compassing and designing the King's death, and of endeavouring to raise an insurrection in order to it; that, that they do say is, that these counsels that your Lordship hath taken, are evidences of your compassing the King's death, and are overt acts declaring the same; and upon that it is they insist your Lordship to be guilty within that statute.

L. Russell. It is a point of law, and I desire counsel.

Mr. At. Gen. Admit your consultations, and we will hear them.

L. C. J. I would set your Lordship right, for probably you may not apprehend the law in this case; if your counsel be heard to this, that taking it that my Lord Russell has consulted in this manner, for the raising of forces within this kingdom, and making an insurrection within this kingdom, as Colonel Rumsey and my Lord Howard have deposed, whether then this be treason; we can hear your counsel to nothing else.

L. Russell. I do not know how to answer to it. The point methinks must be quite otherwise, that there should be two witnesses to one thing at the same time.

Mr. At. Gen. Your Lordship remembers, in my Lord Strafford's case, there was but one witness to one act in England, and another to another in France.

L. Russell. It was to the same point.

Mr. At. Gen. To the general point—the lopping point.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. There was not so much evidence against him, as there is against your Lordship.

L. C. J. My Lord, if your Lordship will say any thing, or call any witnesses to disprove what either of these gentlemen have said, we will hear your Lordship what they say; but if you cannot contradict them by testimony, it will be taken to be a proof. And the way you have to disprove them, is to call witnesses, or by asking questions, whereby it may appear to be untrue.

Mr. Sol. Gen. If you have any witnesses, call them, my Lord.

L. Russell. I do not think they have proved it. But then it appears by the statute, that levying war is treason, but a conspiracy to levy war is no treason; if nothing be

done, it is not levying war within the statute. There must be manifest proof of the matter of fact, not by inference.

Mr. At. Gen. I see that is taken out of my Lord Coke. Levying war is a distinct branch of the statute; and my Lord Coke explains himself afterward, and says, it is an assuming a royal power, to rise for particular purposes.

Just. Withers. Unless matter of fact be agreed, we can never come to argue the law.

L. Russell. I came in late.

Mr. Sol. Gen. Pray, my Lord, has your Lordship any witnesses to call, as to this matter of fact?

L. Russell. I can prove I was out of town when one of the meetings was, but Mr. Shephard cannot recollect the day, for I was out of town all that time. I never was but once at Mr. Shephard's; and there was nothing undertaken of viewing the guards while I was there: Colonel Rumsey, can you swear positively that I heard the message, and gave any answer to it?

L. C. J. (To Colonel Rumsey.) Sir, did my Lord Russell hear you when you delivered the message to the company? Were they at table, or where were they?

Col. Rumsey. When I came in they were standing at the fire-side, but they all came from the fire-side to hear what I said.

L. Russell. Colonel Rumsey was there when I came in.

Col. Rumsey. No, my Lord. The Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Russell went away together, and my Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Armstrong.

L. Russell. The Duke of Monmouth and I came together, and you were standing at the chimney when I came in; you were there before me. My Lord Howard hath made a long narrative here of what he knew, I do not know when he made it, or when he did recollect any thing; it is but very lately that he did declare and protest to several people, that he knew nothing against me, nor of any plot I could in the least be questioned for.

L. C. J. If you will have any witnesses called to that, you shall, my Lord.

L. Russell. My Lord Anglesey and Mr. Edward Howard.

My Lord Anglesey stood up.

L. C. J. My Lord Russell, what do you ask my Lord Anglesey?

L. Russell. To declare what my Lord Howard told him about me, since I was confined.

L. Anglesey. My Lord, I chanced to be in town the last week, and hearing my Lord of Bedford was in some distress and trouble concerning the affliction of his son, I went to give him a visit; being my old acquaintance of some fifty-three years standing, I believe, for my Lord and I were bred together at Maudlin College in Oxon; I had not been there but a very little while and was ready to go away again, after I had done the good office I came about, but my Lord Howard came in—I do not know whether he be here.

L. Howard. Yes, here I am to serve your Lordship.

L. Anglesey. And sate down on the other side of my Lord of Bedford, and he began to comfort my Lord: and

the arguments he used for his comfort were, my Lord, you are happy in having a wise son and a worthy person: one that can never sure be in such a plot as this, or suspected of it; and that may give your Lordship reason to expect a very good issue concerning him. I know nothing against him, or any body else, of such a barbarous design, and therefore your Lordship may be comforted in it.—I did not hear this only from my Lord Howard's mouth, but at my own home upon the Monday after, for I used to go to Totteridge for fresh air; I went down on Saturday; this happened to be on Friday (my Lord being here, I am glad, for he cannot forget this discourse,) and when I came to town on Monday, I understood that my Lord Howard, upon that very Sunday, had been at church with my Lady Chaworth. My Lady has a chaplain, it seems, that preaches there, and does the offices of the church, but my Lady came to me in the evening. This I have from my Lady—

L. C. J. My Lord, what you have from my Lady, is no kind of evidence at all.

L. Anglesey. I do not know what my Lord is—I am acquainted with none of the evidence, nor what hath been done. But my Lady Chaworth came to me, and acquainted me there was some suspicion—

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. I do not think it fit for me to interrupt a person of your honour, my Lord, but your Lordship knows in what place we stand here; what you can say of any thing you heard of my Lord Howard, we are willing to hear, but the other is not evidence. As the Court will not let us offer hearsays, so neither must we that are for the King, permit it.

L. Anglesey. I have told you what happened in my hearing.

Then Mr. Howard stood up.

L. C. J. Come, Mr. Howard, what do you know?

Mr. Howard. I must desire to say something of myself and my family first: My Lord and I have been very intimate, not only as relations, but as dear friends. My Lord, I have been of a family known to have great respect and duty for the King, and I think there is no family in the nation so numerous, that hath expressed greater loyalty; upon which account I improved my interest in my Lord Howard; I endeavoured, upon the great misunderstanding of the nation (if he be here he knows it) to persuade him to apply himself to the King, to serve him in that great difficulty of state, which is known to all the world. I sometimes found my Lord very forward, and sometimes I softened him; upon which parley, and upon his permission, and more upon my own inclination of duty, I made several applications to ministers of state (and I can name them) that my Lord Howard had a great desire of serving the King in the best way of satisfaction, and particularly in the great business of his brother. I wondered there should be so much sharpness for a matter of opinion, and I told my Lord so; I do say this before I come to the thing. After this I did, partly by his permission, and partly by my own inclination to serve the King, because I thought my Lord Howard to be a man of parts,

and saw him a man that had interest in the nation, tell my Lord Feversham, that I had prevailed with a relation of mine, that may be he might think opposite, that perhaps might serve the King in this great difficulty that is emergent, and particularly that of his brother. My Lord Feversham did receive it very kindly, and I writ a letter to him to let him know how I had softened my Lord, and that it was my desire he should speak with my Lord at Oxon. My Lord Feversham gave me a very kind account when he came again, but he told me——

L. C. J. Pray apply yourself to the matter you are called for.

Mr. Howard. This, it may be, is to the matter, when you have heard me; for I think I know where I am, and what I am to say.

L. C. J. We must desire you not to go on thus.

Mr. Howard. I must satisfy the world, as well as I can, as to myself and my family, and pray do not interrupt me. After this, my Lord, there never passed a day for almost——

L. C. J. Pray speak to this matter.

Mr. Howard. Sir, I am coming to it.

L. C. J. Pray, Sir, be directed by the Court.

Mr. Howard. Then now, Sir, I will come to the thing. Upon this ground I had of my Lord's kindness, I applied myself to my Lord in this present issue on the breaking out of this plot. My Lord, I thought certainly, as near as I could discern him (for he took it upon his honour, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a magistrate) that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this business, and particularly of my Lord Russell, whom he vindicated with all the honour in the world. My Lord, it is true, was afraid of his own person, and as a friend and a relation, I concealed him in my house, and did not think it was for such a conspiracy, but I thought he was unwilling to go to the Tower for nothing again. So that if my Lord Howard has the same soul on Monday that he had on Sunday, this cannot be true that he swears against my Lord Russell. This I say upon my reputation and honour; and something I could say more; he added, he thought my Lord Russell did not only unjustly suffer, but he took God and men to witness he thought him the worthiest person in the world. I am very sorry to hear any man of my name should be guilty of these things.

L. Russell. Call Dr. Burnet. Pray, Dr. Burnet, did you hear any thing from my Lord Howard, since the plot was discovered concerning me?

Dr. Burnet. My Lord Howard was with me the night after the plot broke out, and he did then, as he had done before, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, say, he knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any; and treated it with scorn and contempt.

L. Howard. My Lord, may I speak for myself?

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. No, no, my Lord, we do not call you.

L. C. J. Will you please to have any other witnesses called?

L. Russell. There are some persons of quality that I have been very well acquainted and conversed with, I desire to

know of them, if there was any thing in my former carriage, to make them think me like to be guilty of this? My Lord Cavendish.

L. Cavendish. I had the honour to be acquainted with my Lord Russell a long time. I always thought him a man of great honour, and too prudent and wary a man to be concerned in so vile and desperate a design as this, and from which he would receive so little advantage. I can say nothing more, but that two or three days since the discovery of this plot, upon discourse about Colonel Rumsey, my Lord Russell did express something, as if he had a very ill opinion of the man, and therefore it is not likely he would intrust him with such a secret.

L. Russell. Dr. Tillotson. [He appears.

L. C. J. What questions would you ask him, my Lord?

L. Russell. He and I happened to be very conversant. To know whether he did ever find any thing tending to this in my discourse.

L. C. J. My Lord calls you as to his life, and conversation, and reputation.

Dr. Tillotson. My Lord, I have been many years last past acquainted with my Lord Russell; I always judged him a person of great virtue and integrity, and by all the conversation and discourse I ever had with him, I always took him to be a person very far from any such wicked design he stands charged with.

L. Russell. Dr. Burnet, if you please to give some account of my conversation.

Dr. Burnet. My Lord, I have had the honour to be known to my Lord Russell several years, and he hath declared himself with much confidence to me, and he always, upon all occasions, expressed himself against all risings; and when he spoke of some people that would provoke to it, he expressed himself so determined against that matter, I think no man could do more.

L. C. J. Will your Lordship call any other witnesses.

L. Russell. Dr. Cox.

Dr. Thomas Cox stood up.

Dr. Cox. My Lord, I did not expect to have been spoken to upon this account. Having been very much with my Lord of late, that is for a month or six weeks before this plot came out, I have had occasion to speak with my Lord in private about these public matters. But I have always found that my Lord was against all kinds of risings, and thought it the greatest folly and madness, till things should come in a parliamentary way. I have had occasion often to speak with my Lord Russell in private, and having myself been against all kind of risings, or any thing that tended to the disorder of the public, I have heard him profess solemnly, he thought it would ruin the best cause in the world to take any of these irregular ways for the preserving of it, and particularly my Lord hath expressed himself occasionally of these two persons, my Lord Howard and Colonel Rumsey. One of them, Colonel Rumsey, I saw once at my Lord's house, and he offered to speak a little privately. But my Lord told me he knew him but a little; I told him he was a valiant man, and acted his part valiantly in Portugal. He said he knew him little,

and that he had nothing to do with him but in my Lord Shaftsbury's business. He said, for my Lord Howard, he was a man of excellent parts, of luxuriant parts, but he had the luck not to be much trusted by any party. And I never heard him say one word of indecency or immodesty towards the King.

L. Russell. I would pray the Duke of Somerset to speak what he knows of me.

Duke of Somerset. I have known my Lord Russell for about two years, and have had much conversation with him, and been often in his company, and never heard any thing from him but what was very honourable, loyal, and just.

L. C. J. My Lord does say, that he has known my Lord Russell for about two years, and hath had much conversation with him, and been much in his company, and never heard any thing from him, but what was honourable, and loyal, and just, in his life.

Foreman of the Jury. The Gentlemen of the Jury desire to ask my Lord Howard something upon the point my Lord Anglesey testified, and to know what answer he makes to my Lord Anglesey.

L. C. Bar. My Lord, what say you to it, that you told his father he was a discreet man, and he needed not to fear his engagement in any such a thing?

L. Howard. My Lord, if I took it right, my Lord Anglesey's testimony did branch itself into two parts, one of his own knowledge, and the other by hearsay; as to what he said of his own knowledge, when I waited upon my Lord of Bedford, and endeavoured to comfort him, concerning his son, I believe I said the words my Lord Anglesey has given an account of, as near as I can remember, that I looked upon his Lordship as a man of that honour, that I hoped he might be secure, that he had not entangled himself in any thing of that nature. My Lord, I can hardly be provoked to make my own defence, lest this noble Lord should suffer, so willing I am to serve my Lord, who knows I cannot want affection for him. My Lord, I do confess I did say it, for your Lordship well knows under what circumstances we were: I was at that time to outface the thing, both for myself and my party, and I did not intend to come into this place, and act this part. God knows how it is brought upon me, and with what unwillingness I do sustain it; but my duty to God, the King, and my Country requires it; but I must confess I am very sorry to carry it on thus far. My Lord, I do confess I did say so, and if I had been to visit my Lord Pemberton, I should have said so. There is none of those that know my Lord Russell, but would speak of my Lord Russell, from those topics of honour, modesty, and integrity; his whole life deserves it. And I must confess, I did frequently say, there was nothing of truth in this, and I wish this may be for my Lord's advantage. My Lord, will you spare me one thing more, because that leans hard upon my reputation, and if the jury believe that I ought not to be believed, for I do think that the religion of an oath is not tied to a place, but receives its obligation from the appeal we therein make to God, and, I think if I called God and Angels to witness a falsehood, I ought not to be believed now.

But I will tell you as to that, your Lordship knows, that very man that was committed, was committed for a design of murdering the King; now I did lay hold on that part, for I was to carry my knife close between the paring and the apple; and I did say, that if I were an enemy to my Lord Russell, and to the Duke of Monmouth, and were called to be a witness, I must have declared in the presence of God and man, that I did not believe either of them had any design to murder the King. I have said this, because I would not walk under the character of a person that would be perjured at the expense of so noble a person's life, and my own soul.

L. Russell. My Lord Clifford.

L. C. J. What do you please to ask my Lord Clifford?

L. Russell. He hath known my conversation for many years.

L. Clifford. I always took my Lord to be a very worthy, honest man; I never saw any thing in his conversation to make me believe otherwise.

L. Russell. Mr. Gore.

Mr. Lutton Gore. I have been acquainted with my Lord several years, and conversed much with him. In all the discourse I had with him, I never heard him let any thing fall that tended in the least to any rising, or any thing like it: I took him to be one of the best sons, one of the best fathers, and one of the best masters, one of the best husbands, one of the best friends, and one of the best Christians we had. I know of no discourse concerning this matter.

L. Russell. Mr. Spencer, and Dr. Fitz-William.

Mr. Spencer. My Lord, I have known my Lord Russell many years; I have been many months with him in his house; I never saw any thing by him, but that he was a most virtuous and prudent gentleman, and he had prayers constantly twice a day in his house.

L. C. J. What as to the general conversation of his life? My Lord asks you, whether it hath been sober.

Mr. Spencer. I never saw any thing but very good, very prudent, and very virtuous.

L. Russell. What company did you see used to come to me?

Mr. Spencer. I never saw any but his near relations, or his own family. I have the honour to be related to the family.

Then Dr. Fitz-William stood up.

L. Russell. If it please you, Doctor, you have been at my house several times, give an account of what you know of me.

Dr. Fitz-William. I have had the knowledge of my Lord those fourteen years, from the time he was married to his present Lady, to whose father, eminent for loyalty, I had a relation by service; I have had acquaintance with him both at Stratton and Southampton Buildings, and by all the conversation I had with him, I esteemed him a man of that virtue, that he could not be guilty of such a crime as the conspiracy he stands charged with.

L. C. J. My Lord, does your Lordship call any more witnesses?

L. Russell. No, my Lord, I will be very short. I shall declare to your Lordship that I am one that have always had a heart sincerely loyal and affectionate to the King and the government, the best government in the world. I pray as sincerely for the King's happy and long life as any man alive; and for me to go about to raise a rebellion, which I looked upon as so wicked and unpracticable, is unlikely. Besides, if I had been inclined to it, by all the observation I made in the country, there was no tendency to it. What some hot-headed people have done there, is another thing. A rebellion cannot be made now as it has been in former times; we have few great men. I was always for the government; I never desired any thing to be redressed but in a parliamentary and legal way. I have been always against innovations, and all irregularities whatsoever, and shall be as long as I live, whether it be sooner or later. Gentlemen, I am now in your hands eternally, my honour, my life, and all; and I hope the heats and animosities that are amongst you will not so bias you, as to make you in the least inclined to find an innocent man guilty. I call to witness heaven and earth, I never had a design against the King's life in my life, nor never shall have. I think there is nothing proved against me at all. I am in your hands, God direct you.

Mr. Sol. Gen. My Lord, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, the prisoner at the bar stands indicted for high treason, in conspiring the death of the King. The overt act that is laid to prove that conspiracy and imagination by, is the assembling in council to raise arms against the King, and to raise a rebellion here. We have proved that to you by three witnesses. I shall endeavour, as clearly as I can, to state the substance of the evidence to you, of every one of them as they have delivered it.

The first witness, Colonel Rumsey, comes, and he tells you of a message he was sent of to Mr. Shephard's house, to my Lord Russell, with several other persons who he was told would be there assembled together. And the message was to know what readiness they were in, what resolutions they were come to concerning the rising at Taunton. By this you do perceive that this conspiracy had made some progress, and was ripe to be put in action. My Lord Shaftsbury that had been a great contriver in it, he had pursued it so far, as to be ready to rise. This occasioned the message from my Lord Shaftsbury to my Lord Russell, and those noble persons that were met at Mr. Shephard's house, to know what the resolution was concerning the business at Taunton, which you have heard explained by an undertaking of Mr. Trenchard's. That the answer was, they were disappointed there, and they could not then be ready, and that my Lord Shaftsbury must be content. This message was delivered in presence of my Lord Russell; the messenger had notice my Lord Russell was there; the answer was given as from them all, That at present they could not be ready, because of that disappointment. Colonel Rumsey went further, and he swears there was a discourse concerning the surprising of the guards; and the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, went to see what posture they were in, whether it

were feasible to surprise them, and they found them very remiss; and that account they brought back, as is proved to you by Mr. Shephard, the other witness, that it was a thing very feasible. But to conclude with the substance of Colonel Rumsey's evidence, he says my Lord was privy to it, that he had discourse among the rest of it, though my Lord was not a man of so great discourse as the rest, and did talk of a rising. He told you there was a rising determined to be on the 19th of November last, which is the substance of Colonel Rumsey's evidence.

Gentlemen, the next witness is Mr. Shephard, and his evidence was this: He swears that about October last, Mr. Ferguson came to him of a message from the Duke of Monmouth, to let him know, that he and some other persons of quality would be there that night; that accordingly they did meet, and my Lord Russell was there likewise; that they did desire to be private, and his servants were sent away; and that he was the man that did attend them. He swears there was a discourse concerning the way and method to seize the guards; he goes so far as to give an account of the return of the errand the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Armstrong went upon, that it was feasible, if they had strength to do it. Then he went a little farther, and he told you there was a paper read, that in his evidence does not come up to my Lord Russell, for he did not say my Lord Russell was by, and I would willingly repeat nothing but what concerns the prisoner. This, therefore, Colonel Rumsey and Mr. Shephard agree in, that there was a debate among them how to surprise the guards, and whether that was feasible; and Mr. Shephard is positive as to the return made upon the view.

The next witness was my Lord Howard: he gives you an account of many things, and many things that he tells you are by hearsay. But I cannot but observe to you, that all this hearsay is confirmed by these two positive witnesses, and their oaths agree with him in it. For my Lord Shaftsbury told him of the disappointment he had met with from these noble persons that would not join with him; and then he went from my Lord Shaftsbury to the Duke of Monmouth to expostulate with him about it (for my Lord Shaftsbury then was ready to be in action), and that the Duke said he always told him he would not engage at that time. This thing is confirmed to you by these two witnesses. Colonel Rumsey says, when he brought the message from my Lord Shaftsbury, the answer was, they were not ready, my Lord must be content.

Next he goes on with a discourse concerning my Lord Shaftsbury (that does not immediately come up to the prisoner at the bar, but it manifests there was a design at that time), he had ten thousand brisk boys (as he called them) ready to follow him upon the holding up his finger. But it was thought not so prudent to begin it, unless they could join all their forces. So you hear in this they were disappointed; and partly by another accident too, my Lord Howard had an apprehension it might be discovered; that was upon the proclamation that came out forbidding bonfires, to prevent the ordinary tumults that used to be upon

those occasions. Then my Lord Howard goes on, and comes particularly to my Lord Russell; for upon this disappointment you find my Lord Shaftsbury thought fit to be gone. But after that the design was not laid aside; for you hear they only told him all along, they could not be ready at that time, but the design went on still to raise arms; and then they took upon themselves to consult of the methods of it: and for the carrying it on with the greater secrecy, they chose a select council of six, which were the Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Howard, my Lord Russell, my Lord of Essex, Mr. Hampden, and Col. Sidney. That accordingly they met at Mr. Hampden's (there was their first meeting), and their consultation there was, how the insurrection should be made, whether first in London, or whether first in the country, or whether both in London and the country at one time. They had some debates among themselves that it was fittest first to be in the country; for if the King should send his guards down to suppress them, then the city, that was then as well disposed to rise, would be without a guard, and easily effect their designs here.

Their next meeting was at my Lord Russell's own house; and there their debates were still about the same matter, how to get in Scotland to their assistance; and in order to that they did intrust Colonel Sidney, one of their council, to send a messenger into Scotland for some persons to come hither, my Lord Melville, Sir Hugh Cambell, and Sir John Cockram. Accordingly Col. Sidney sends Aaron Smith (but this is only what Col. Sidney told my Lord afterward, that he had done it), but you see the fruit of it. Accordingly they are come to town, and Sir Hugh Cambell is taken by a messenger upon his arrival; and he had been but four days in town, and he had changed his lodging three times.

Now, Gentlemen, this is the substance of the evidence that hath been produced against my Lord Russell. My Lord Russell hath made several objections, That he was accidentally at this meeting at Mr. Shephard's house, and came about other business; but I must observe to you that my Lord Russell owned that he came along with the Duke of Monmouth, and I think he said he went away with him too. You observe what Mr. Shephard's evidence was: Mr. Ferguson came to tell him the Duke of Monmouth would come; and accordingly the Duke of Monmouth did come, and brought his companion along with him, which was my Lord Russell; and certainly they that met upon so secret an affair, would never have brought one that had not been concerned. Gentlemen, there are other objections my Lord hath made, and those are in point of law; but before I come to them, I would observe what he says to the second meeting. My Lord does not deny but that he did meet both at Mr. Hampden's house, and my Lord's own: I think my Lord said they did meet only to discourse of news; and my Lord Howard being a man of excellent discourse, they met for his conversation. Gentlemen, you cannot believe that this designed meeting was for nothing; in this close, secret meeting, that they had no contrivance among them. You have heard the witness; he swears po-

sitively what the conversation was, and you see the fruit of it, Sir Hugh Cambell's coming to town, and absconding when it is discovered. Now my Lord Russell insists upon it, that admitting these facts be proved upon him, they amount to no more than to a conspiracy to levy war, and that that is not treason within the statute of 25 Ed. III. and if it be only within the statute of the 13th of this King, then it is out of time, that directs the prosecution to be within six months. The law is plainly otherwise. The statute of the 13th of this King I will not now insist upon, though I believe if that be strictly looked into, the clause that says the prosecution shall be within six months, does not refer to treason, but only to the other offences that are highly punishable by that statute. For the proviso runs thus:

13 Car. II. 'Provided always, that no person be prosecuted for any of the offences in this act mentioned, other than such as are made and declared to be high treason, unless it be by order of the King's Majesty, his heirs or successors, under his or their sign manual, or by order of the Council Table of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, directed unto the Attorney General, for the time being, or some other counsel learned to his Majesty, his heirs or successors for the time being: nor shall any person or persons, by virtue of this present act, incur any of the penalties herein before mentioned, unless he or they be prosecuted within six months next after the offence committed, and indicted thereupon within three months after such prosecution; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.'

This word *nor*, is a continuation of the former sentence, and the exception of high treason will go through all, and except that out of the temporary limitation of treason: But this is high treason within 25 Ed. III. To conspire to levy war, is an overt act to testify the design of the death of the King. And the error of my Lord Coke hath possibly led my Lord into this mistake. But this, Gentlemen, hath been determined; it was resolved by all the Judges in the case of my Lord Cobham, 1 Jac. A conspiracy to levy war against the King's person (as this was a conspiracy to seize the guards), what does that tend to but to seize the King? and that always hath been taken to be high treason. But there are some things called levying of war in law, that are not so directly against the King; as if a number of men go about to levy men to overthrow all enclosures, this by the generality of the intent, and because of the consequences, is accounted levying war against the King. A conspiracy therefore to levy such a war, which by construction only is against the King, perhaps that may not be such an overt act as to testify the imagination of the death of the King; but other conspiracies to raise war against the King have always been so taken. It is the resolution of all the Judges in my Lord Dyer's Reports, the case of Dr. Story. A conspiracy to invite a foreign Prince to make an invasion, though no invasion follow, is an overt act to prove the conspiring the death of the King; and as it has been so taken, so it hath been practised but of late days. In the King's Bench I take it the indictment against

Plunket that was hanged; he was indicted for conspiring against the life of the King, and his charge went no farther than for raising of arms, and inviting the French king in; and he suffered. This is acknowledged by my Lord Coke; for he himself said in the paragraph before that out of which this advice to my Lord Russell is extracted, that a conspiracy to invite a foreign Prince to invade the kingdom, is a conspiracy against the life of the King. And in the next paragraph he says, an overt act of one treason cannot be an overt act of another treason; but constant practice is against him in that: for what is more common than to indict a man for imagining the death of the King, and to assign the overt act in a conspiracy to raise arms against the King? And sometimes they go on and say, *did levy war against the King*. Now, by my Lord Coke's rule, levying war, unless the indictment be particular for that, is not an overt act for the compassing the death of the King; but the contrary hath been resolved by all the Judges in the case of Sir Henry Vane, and it is the constant practice to lay it so in indictments. It would be a strange construction if this should not be high treason. It is agreed by every body, to take the King prisoner, to seize the King, that is compassing of the death of the King; and to sit in council to conspire to effect that, that is an overt act of the imagination of the death of the King. Now no man can distinguish this case from that; and this consultation amounted to all this, for plainly thither it tended. The consultation was to seize upon the King's guards; that could have no other stop but to seize upon the King's person, and bring him into their power. As to the killing of the King, I am apt to think that was below the honour of the prisoner at the bar; but this is equal treason. If they designed only to bring the King into their power, till he had consented to such things as should be moved in parliament, it was equally treason as if they had agreed directly to assassinate him. Therefore I think there is nothing for you to consider, but to see that the fact be fully proved; and I see nothing that hath been said by my Lord Russell that does invalidate our evidence. He hath produced several witnesses, persons of honour. My Lord Anglesey, he tells you of a discourse my Lord Howard had with my Lord of Bedford; that he told my Lord of Bedford that he needed not to fear, for he had a wise and understanding son, and could not think he should be guilty of any such thing as was laid to his charge. This is brought to invalidate my Lord Howard's testimony. Gentlemen, do but observe, my Lord Howard was as deep in as any of them, and was not then discovered. Is it likely that my Lord Howard, that lay hid, should discover to my Lord of Bedford, that there was a conspiracy to raise arms, and that he was in it? This would have been an aspersion upon my Lord of Bedford, that any such thing should have been said.

Mr. Edward Howard is the next, and he proves, that my Lord Howard used solemn protestations that he knew nothing of this conspiracy. I did observe that worthy gentleman in the beginning of his discourse (for it was pretty long) said first, that he had been several times tempting my

Lord Howard to come over and be serviceable to the King, and if he knew any thing, that he would come and confess it. Why, Gentlemen, Mr. Howard that had come to him upon these errands formerly, and had thought he had gained him, I conceive you do not wonder if my Lord Howard did not reveal himself to him, who presently would have discovered it; for, for that errand he came. But if my Lord had had a design to have come in and saved his life, he would have made his submission voluntarily, and made his discovery. But my Lord tells nothing till he is pinched in his conscience, and confounded with the guilt (being then in custody), and then he tells the whole truth, that which you have heard this day.

Gentlemen, this hath been all that hath been objected against the witnesses, except what is said by Dr. Burnet; and he says, that my Lord Howard declared to him, that he believed there was no plot, and laughed at it. Why, Gentlemen, the Doctor would take it ill to be thought a person fit to be entrusted with the discovery of this; therefore what he said to him signifies nothing; for it is no more than this—that he did not discover it to the Doctor.

But the last objection (which I see there has been a great many persons of honour and quality called to) is, that it is not likely my Lord Russell should be guilty of any thing of this kind, being a man of that honour, virtue, and so little blameable in his whole conversation. I do confess, Gentlemen, this is a thing that hath weight in it. But consider on the other hand, my Lord Russell is but a man, and hath his human frailties about him. Men fall by several temptations; some out of revenge; some by malice fall into such offences as these are: my Lord Russell is not of that temper, and therefore may be these are not the ingredients here. But, Gentlemen, there is another great and dangerous temptation that attends people in his circumstances, whether it be pride or ambition, or the cruel snare of popularity, being cried up as a pattern of liberty. This hath been a dangerous temptation to many, and many persons of virtue have fallen into it; and it is the only way to tempt persons of virtue, and the devil knew it, for he that tempted the pattern of virtue, shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and said, 'All these will I give thee; if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' Though he be a person of virtue, yet it does not follow, but his virtue may have some weak part in it; and I am afraid, these temptations have prevailed upon my Lord; for I cannot give myself any colour of objection, to disbelieve all these witnesses who give in their testimony. I see no contradiction, no correspondence, no contrivance at all between them. You have plain oaths before you, and I hope you will consider the weight of them, and the great consequences that did attend this case—the overthrow of the best government in the world, and the best and most unspotted religion, which must needs have suffered; the greatest liberty and the greatest security for property that ever was in any nation, bounded every way by the rules of law, and those kept sacred. I hope you will consider the weight of this evidence, and consider the consequences such a conspiracy, if it had taken effect, might have had.

And so I leave it to your consideration, upon the evidence you have heard.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. My Lord, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, this cause hath detained your Lordship a long time, by reason of so many witnesses being called, and the length of the defence made by the prisoner at the bar; and if it had not been for the length, I would not have injured your patience by saying any thing, Mr. Solicitor having taken so much pains in it. It is a duty incumbent upon me, under the circumstances I now stand, to see if any thing hath been omitted that hath not been observed to you; and I shall detain you with very few words.

Gentlemen, you must give me leave to tell you, it is a case of great consequence, of great consequence to that noble person that is now at the bar, as well as to the King; for it is not desired by the King nor by his Council, to have you influenced in this matter by any thing but by the truth, and what evidence you have received. You are not to be moved by compassion or pity; the oath you have taken is to go according to your evidence; and you are not to be moved by any insinuations that are offered by us for the king, nor by any insinuations by the prisoner at the bar; but the truth according to the testimony given, must be your guide. How far the law will affect this question, that we are not to apply to you, for that we are to apply ourselves to the Court (they are the Judges in point of law), who will take so much care in their directions to you, that you may be very well satisfied you will not easily be led into error. For the instances that have been put, I could put several others; but I will take notice only of one thing that that noble person at the bar seems to object. Gentlemen, it is not necessary there should be two witnesses to the self-same fact at the self-same time; but if there be two witnesses tending to the self-same fact, thought it was at several times, and upon several occasions, they will be in point of law two witnesses, which are necessary to convict a man for high treason. Gentlemen, I make no doubt this thing is known to you all, not only by the judgment of all the Judges in England, but the judgment of the Lords in Parliament, when I doubt not the prisoner at the bar did attend, in the case of my Lord Strafford, wherein one witness gave an account of a conspiracy in England, Tuberville of another in France, and by the opinion of all my Lords the Judges approved in Parliament, that was enough, and he was convicted.

The question is, whether we have sufficiently proved this matter. Gentlemen, I must tell you, we rake no gaols, nor bring any profligate persons, persons that wanted faith or credit before this time. I must tell you, that notwithstanding the fair notice that hath been given to the prisoner at the bar (that you see he hath taken an advantage of it, he hath given an account of a private conversation which my Lord Howard had before that noble person that was witness, since he was taken), he has not given you in any proof hitherto; nay I say, he has not pretended any thing in the world. Wherefore, you, Gentlemen, that are upon your oaths, should take it upon your consciences, that two men, against whom there is no objection, should come

to damn their own souls to take away the life of this gentleman, when there is no quarrel, no temptation wherefore these gentlemen should come in the face of a court of justice, in the face of such an auditory, without respect to that infinite Being to whom they appeal for confirmation of the truth of their testimony: and if they had the faith of men or Christians, they must necessarily conclude, that if they did swear to take away a man's life that was innocent, God would sink them down presently into hell.

Gentlemen, in the next place, I must acquaint you, that the first witness, Colonel Rumsey, it is apparent that he was taken notice of by the prisoner as a man fit to be trusted; he was engaged by my Lord Shaftsbury: but, says he, would any man believe that that man that had received so many marks of the King's favour, both in advantage to his estate, his honour, and person, could be ever contriving such an hellish design as this? Gentlemen, if you will argue from such uncertain conjectures, then all criminals will come off. Who should think that my Lord of Essex, who had been advanced so much in his estate and honour, should be guilty of such desperate things; which had he not been conscious of he would scarcely have brought himself to that untimely end, to avoid the methods of public justice. Colonel Rumsey tells you, my Lord Shaftsbury was concerned in this conspiracy. I am sorry to find that there have been so many of the nobility of this land that have lived so happily under the benign influence of a gracious Prince, should make so ill returns. Gentlemen, I must appeal to you, whether in your observation you found Colonel Rumsey to be over hasty and an over zealous witness: he did not come as if he came in spite to the prisoner at the bar; you found how we were forced to pump out every thing; but after he had been pressed over and over again, then he came to it; so that I observe to you, that he was an unwilling witness.

Gentlemen, give me leave to observe to you, the prisoner at the bar, before such time as Mr. Shephard came up and give evidence against him, says he, I came only by accident, only to taste a parcel of wine. Mr. Shephard when he comes up, he tells you there was no such design. Ferguson, that was the person he kept company with (the reverend Dean and the rest of the Clergy of the Church of England, they were not fit to be trusted with it, but this independent parson, Ferguson), he gives notice of the coming of these persons; and in pursuance of this notice they all come; they come late in the evening; not in the posture and quality they used to go, for you find they had not so much as a coach. Is it probable they came to taste wine? wherefore did they go up into a room? Wherefore did they order Mr. Shephard that none of the boys should come up, but that the master must fetch the sugar and wine himself? Wherefore you may perceive the action they were upon, there were only to be such persons as had an affection for such a cause. You find pursuant to what Colonel Rumsey says, that there was a direction to take a view of the guards; that Sir Thomas Armstrong comes back and makes this report:—Says he, I have taken notice they are in such an idle, careless posture, that it is

not impossible to surprise them. This Mr. Shephard he does not come, nor does he appear to you to come here out of any vindictive humour, to do the prisoner at the bar any hurt.

In the next place, we have my Lord Howard: he comes and positively tells you, after he had given an account, (for you observe there were two parts to be acted in this horrid tragedy; there was first the scoundrel sort of people were to be concerned to take away the life of the King and the Duke; the great persons were to head the party in the rising) they put themselves in proper postures, each of them consenting to something of the surprise, inasmuch as you observe that Sir Thomas Armstrong and some other persons might not be trusted. They come and resolve themselves out of a general council, and they meet in a particular council of six, looking upon themselves as the heads of the party; and I must tell you many of them (we live not in an age of such obscurity, but we know them) how fond they have been of the applause of the people! As that person encouraged himself yesterday, they were the *Liberatores Patriæ* that could murder the King and the Duke.

My Lord, I must take notice, that this noble Lord is known to have an intimacy with him; you observe with how much tenderness he is pleased to deliver himself; how carefully he reports the debates of the particular consults of the persons to be intrusted in the management; he tells you that noble Lord, the prisoner at the bar, was pitched upon, and Algernon Sidney, a man famous about the town. For what? To call in parties from some of his Majesty's other dominions, persons we know ripe enough for rebellion, to assist. Pursuant to this, you find persons sent of a message for some to come over, whereof some are in hold: so that for all dark and obscure sort of matters, nothing can be brought better to light than this, of taking all matters together, with the concurring circumstances of time and place.

Gentlemen, I must confess this noble Lord hath given an account by several honourable persons of his conversation, which is a very easy matter. Do you think if any man had a design to raise a rebellion against the crown, that he would talk of it to the reverend divines, and the noble lords that are known to be of integrity to the crown? Do you think the gentleman at the bar would have so little concern for his own life, to make this discourse his ordinary conversation? No; it must be a particular consult of six, that must be entrusted with this. I tell you, it is not the divines of the Church of England, but an independent divine, that is to be concerned in this; they must be persons of their own complexion and humour; for men will apply themselves to proper instruments.

Gentlemen, I would not labour in this case; far far be it from any man to endeavour to take away the life of the innocent. And whereas that noble Lord says, he hath a virtuous good lady, he hath many children, he hath virtue and honour he puts into the scale; Gentlemen, I must tell you on the other side, you have consciences, religion; you have a Prince, and a merciful one too; consider the

life of your Prince, the life of his posterity, the consequences that would have attended if this villany had taken effect. What would have become of your lives and religion? What would have become of that religion we have been so fond of preserving? Gentlemen, I must put these things home upon your consciences. I know you will remember the horrid murder of the most pious Prince the martyr, King Charles the First. How far the practices of those persons have influenced the several punishments since, is too great a secret for me to examine. But now I say, you have the life of a merciful King; you have a religion that every honest man ought to stand by, and I am sure every loyal man will venture his life and fortune for. You have your wives and children. Let not the greatness of any man corrupt you, but discharge your conscience both to God and the King, and to your posterity.

L. C. J. Gentlemen of the Jury, the prisoner at the bar stands indicted before you of high treason, in compassing and designing the death of the King, and in declaring of it by overt acts, endeavouring to raise insurrections and popular commotions in the kingdom here. To this he hath pleaded not guilty. You have heard the evidence that hath been against him; it hath been at large repeated by the King's Counsel, which will take off a great deal of my trouble in repeating it to you again. I know you cannot but take notice of it, and remember it, it having been stated twice by two of the King's Counsel to you; it is long, and you see what the parties here have proved. There is first of all Colonel Rumsey; he does attest a meeting at Mr. Shephard's house, and you hear to what purpose he says it was; the message that he brought, and the return he had; it was to inquire concerning a rising at Taunton; and that he had in return to my Lord Shaftsbury was, that Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and my Lord must be contented, for it could not be at that time. You hear that he does say they did design a rising; he saith there was a rising designed in November; I think he saith the seventeenth, upon the day of Queen Elizabeth's birth. You hear he does say, there was at that meeting some discourse concerning inspecting the King's guards, and seeing how they kept themselves, and whether they might be surprised; and this, he says, was all in order to a rising. He says, that at this my Lord Russell was present. Mr. Shephard does say, that my Lord Russell was there; that he came into this meeting with the Duke of Monmouth, and he did go away with the Duke of Monmouth, as he believes. He says there was some discourse of a rising or insurrection that was to be procured within the kingdom; but he does not tell you the particulars of any thing, he himself does not. My Lord Howard afterward does come and tell you of a great discourse he had with my Lord Shaftsbury, in order to a rising in the city of London; and my Lord Shaftsbury did value himself mightily upon ten thousand men he hoped to raise; and a great deal of discourse he had with my Lord Shaftsbury. This he does by way of inducement to what he says concerning my Lord Russell. The evidence against him is some consults that there were by six of them, who took

upon them, as he says, to be a council for the management of the insurrection that was to be procured in this kingdom. He instances in two that were for this purpose; the one of them at Mr. Hampden's house, the other at my Lord Russell's house. And he tells you at these meetings there was some discourse of providing treasure, and of providing arms; but they came to no result in these things. He tells you, that there was a design to send for some of the kingdom of Scotland, that might join them in this thing. And this is, upon the matter, the substance of the evidence that hath been at large declared to you by the King's Counsel, and what you have heard. Now, Gentlemen, I must tell you some things it lies upon us to direct you in.

My Lord excepts to these witnesses, because they are concerned by their own shewing in this design. If there were any, I did direct (some of you might hear me) yesterday, that that was no sufficient exception against a man's being an evidence in the case of treason, that he himself was concerned in it; they are the most proper persons to be evidence, none being able to detect such counsels but them. You have heard my Lord Russell's witnesses, that he hath brought concerning them, and concerning his own integrity and course of life, how it has been sober and civil, with a great respect to religion, as these gentlemen do all testify. Now the question before you will be, whether upon this whole matter, you do believe my Lord Russell had any design upon the King's life, to destroy the King, or take away his life, for that is the material part here. It is used and given you (by the King's Counsel) as an evidence of this, that he did conspire to raise an insurrection, and to cause a rising of the people, to make as it were a rebellion within the nation, and to surprise the King's guards, which, say they, can have no other end but to seize and destroy the King; and it is a great evidence (if my Lord Russell did design to seize the King's guards, and make an insurrection in the kingdom) of a design to surprise the King's person. It must be left to you upon the whole matter. You have not evidence in this case as there was in the other matter that was tried in the morning, or yesterday, against the conspirators to kill the King at the Rye. There was a direct evidence of a consult to kill the King; that is not given you in this case; this is an act of contriving rebellion and an insurrection within the kingdom, and to seize his guards, which is urged as an evidence, and surely is in itself an evidence, to seize and destroy the King.

Upon this whole matter, this is left to you: If you believe the prisoner at the bar to have conspired the death of the King, and in order to that to have had these consults that these witnesses speak of, then you must find him guilty of this treason that is laid to his charge.

'Then the Court adjourned till four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Jury brought the said Lord Russell in guilty of the said high treason.'

SATURDAY, *July* 14.

Lord Russell was brought to the bar.

Cl. of Cr. William Russell, Esq. hold up thy hand

(which he did). Thou hast been indicted for high treason against our Sovereign Lord the King, and thereupon hast pleaded not guilty, and for thy trial hast put thyself upon thy country, which country has found thee guilty. What canst thou say for thyself why judgment of death should not pass upon thee according to law?

L. Russell. Mr. Recorder, I should be very glad to hear the indictment read.

Mr. At. Gen. You may read it.

Cl. of Cr. Will you have it read in Latin or in English?

L. Russell. In English.

The Clerk read to the words 'Of conspiring the life of the King.'

L. Russell. Hold:—I thought I had not been charged in the indictment as it is, of compassing and conspiring the death of the King.

Mr. At. Gen. Yes, my Lord.

L. Russell. But, Mr. Recorder, if all that the witnesses swore against me be true, I appeal to you and to the Court, I appeal to you whether I am guilty within the statute of 25 Ed. III. they having sworn a conspiracy to levy war; but no intention of killing the King: and therefore I think truly judgment ought not to pass upon me for conspiring the death of the King, of which there was no proof by any one witness.

Mr. At. Gen. That is no exception.

Mr. Recorder. My Lord, that was an exception proper (and as I think you did make it) before the verdict; whether the evidence does amount to prove the charge, that is proper to be observed to the Jury; for if the evidence comes short of the indictment, they cannot find it to be a true charge; but when the Jury has found it, their verdict does pass for truth. We are bound by the verdict as well as your Lordship; we are to go by what the Jury have found, not their evidence.

L. Russell. Without any proof?

Mr. Recorder. The Jury must be governed by their evidence.

L. Russell. I think it is very hard I must be condemned upon a point that there was not one thing of it sworn; therefore I think I may very legally demand arrest of judgment.

Mr. Recorder. I hope your Lordship will consider it is not the Court can give a verdict; it must be the Jury. I believe there is no body in the Court does delight in giving such judgments, especially against your Lordship. The verdict is found, and the King's Attorney General, on behalf of the King, does demand it.

Mr. At. Gen. I do demand judgment of the Court against the prisoner.

Proclamation made for silence, whilst judgment was given.

Mr. Recorder. My Lord Russell, your Lordship hath been indicted, and tried, and found guilty of high treason, the greatest of crimes. Your quality is great, and your crime is great; and I hope and expect that your behaviour and preparation in this condition will be proportionable. My Lord, it is the duty of the witnesses to give evidence

according to truth; it is the duty of the Jury to proceed according to evidence; and it is the duty of the Court to give judgment according to the verdict. It is the King's pleasure, signified by his Attorney General, to demand judgment against your Lordship according to this verdict; and therefore, my Lord, I shall not delay it with any farther circumlocution. The judgment the law hath provided, and is the duty of the Court to give, is,

'That you be carried back again to the place from whence you came, and from thence be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, where you shall be hanged up by the neck, but cut down alive, your entrails and privy members cut off from your body, and burnt in your sight, your head to be severed from your body, and your body divided into four parts, and disposed at the King's pleasure. And the Lord have mercy upon your soul.'

Judicious Remarks, made by our best Historians and Lawyers on the nature and issue of this Trial.

LORD RUSSELL* not having trusted Rumsey, and having forgot the discourse at Shephard's, did not care to think himself in danger, or that he ought to give the courtiers an opportunity to urge, that his flight was a confession of his guilt. Thus he was induced to stand his ground; he made no effort of any kind to escape, but obeyed the warrant as implicitly as if it had been backed by an army. Why, of all the four in the Tower (Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, Sidney, and Hampden) Lord Russell was pitched upon to be the first sacrifice, may furnish matter for inquiry, without producing any satisfactory conclusion. It may be urged by some, that of the whole faction, this lord was the most eminent for the simplicity of his manners and the purity of his life; that he had distinguished himself most by his zeal against Popery, and for the exclusion of a popish heir; and that he was the most formidable both on account of the vast property he possessed and was heir to, and the interest he had among the people; and by others, that the Court were most fortified with matter of fact against him, and witnesses to justify them. The indictment was in substance for conspiring the death of the King, intending to levy war; and in order thereto, to seize the guards. His request for putting off the trial, Pemberton† (L. C. J.) thought so reasonable, that he was for complying with it; but the Attorney General would admit of no delay; and, in consequence, his Lordship was obliged to join issue immediately. He objected, the Jury were no freeholders, but was over-ruled; though in Fitzharris's case, when the same challenge was made in the King's behalf, it was admitted without any difficulty. Such a Proteus is authority!

* Ralph.

† Burnet supposes that Pemberton had his *quietus* soon after, for shewing no more violence against the prisoner.

When Lord Russell came into court, he desired a delay of his trial until next day; because* some of his witnesses could not arrive in town before the evening. Sawyer, the Attorney General, with an inhuman repartee, answered, 'But you did not intend to have granted the King the delay of an hour for saving his life;' and refused his consent to the request. Russell having asked leave of the court, that notes of the evidence for his use might be taken by the hand of another; the Attorney General, in order to prevent him from getting the aid of counsel, told him he might use the hand of one of his servants in writing, if he pleased. 'I ask none,' answered the prisoner. 'but that of the lady who sits by me.' When the spectators, at these words turned their eyes, and beheld the daughter of the virtuous Southampton, rising up to assist her Lord in this his utmost distress, a thrill of anguish ran through the assembly: but when in his defence, he said, 'there can be no rebellion *now*, as in former times, for there are *now* no great men left in England,' a pang of a different nature was felt by those who thought for the public.—Howard was the chief witness against him.

Lord Howard said, that every one knew Lord Russell was a person of very great judgment, and not over lavish in discourse; and that there was no formal question put; but then there was no contradiction, and, as he took it, all gave their consent, &c.

Lord Russell demanded to know on what statute he was indicted; for if on the 13 Car. II. the time prescribed by it for prosecution was elapsed (six months), which destroyed Rumsey's evidence; and if on 25 Edw. III. a design to levy war would not amount to treason, unless rendered manifest by some overt act. The Attorney General replied, that he was indicted on the latter; adding, according to the rules of law logic, that a design to depose the King, to imprison him, or raise his subjects against him, were within that statute, and evidence of a design to kill the King.

The old Earl of Anglesey, Mr. Edw. Howard, Lord Cavendish, Dr. Burnet, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Cox, Lord Clifford, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. Spencer, and Dr. Fitzwilliam, all spoke of the Lord Russell, as one of the most amiable and most inoffensive of men.

The Duke of Somerset, Earl of Anglesey, and Edward Howard said, that Lord Howard declared, he believed Lord Russell innocent;† others spoke to his private character, and declared his great worth and probity, his virtuous and sober life, and consequently the improbability of his being thus engaged. His good character was turned against him by the King's Counsel, who said, there could not be any more dangerous enemies to the state than such as come sober to endeavour its destruction.

The Solicitor General bade the Jury consider,‡ that Lord Russell was but a man, and that men fall by several temptations: some out of revenge, some by malice, fall into such offences as these: my Lord is not of this temper: but, Gentlemen, there is another great and dangerous

* Dalr. † Rapin. ‡ Display of Tyranny.

temptation that attends people in his circumstances, whether it be pride or ambition, or the cruel snare of popularity, being cried up as a pattern of liberty. This is the only way to tempt persons of virtue, and the devil knew it, when he tempted the pattern of virtue. Though he be a person of virtue, I am afraid these temptations have prevailed with my Lord.

The many hardships and great injustice put upon his Lordship, have been admirably well shewn by the learned pens of the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Baron Atkyns, Mr. (afterward Sir) John Hawles, Mr. Acherly, Lord Delamere, Mr. Coke, &c.

The morning of Lord Russell's trial, the Earl of Essex was found with his throat cut in the Tower. Hawles saith, my Lord was killed, or to be killed, that morning. They were sensible the evidence against my Lord Russell was very defective, and that accident was to help it out.* Immediate notice was sent to the Old Bailey, that in the worst sense, use might be made of it by the King's Counsel. The blaze of the Earl's having murdered himself, had its designed effect upon my Lord Russell's trial.† Thus they took occasion to insinuate to the Jury the reality of the plot, since the Earl of Essex rather chose to lay violent hands on himself than stand a trial: and yet, according to Sir John Dalrymple, Lord Essex would not make his escape, nor avoid apprehension, though he easily might, 'lest it might draw suspicion upon Lord Russell, and bring his life into danger.'‡

Jefferies, to shew his zeal, made an insolent declamation, full of fury and indecent invectives. And in his speech to the Jury, he turned the untimely fate of Essex into a proof of his consciousness of the conspiracy.§

Lord Russell spoke to this effect:‖——That his heart had ever been sincerely loyal and affectionate to the King and government, which he thought the best government in the world; that he prayed as sincerely for his Majesty's long and happy life as any man alive: that therefore there was no likelihood that he should go about to raise a rebellion, which he looked upon as both wicked and impracticable; that he had never desired any thing to be redressed, but in a parliamentary and legal way; that he had always been against innovations, and all irregularities whatsoever, and should be as long as he lived, whether his life was to be long or short.—'I call heaven and earth to witness, that I never had a design against the King's life.'—**And,**

Lord Howard owned he did not believe either Lord Russell or the Duke of Monmouth had any design to murder the King; all indeed acquitted him of any share in the scheme of assassination—{treason by construction or implication, is what the law abhors.}

The Chief Justice represented to the Jury, that a design to seize the guards, was a design against the King's life.—The Jury brought in their verdict—Guilty.¶

The sentence was considered by all who had any sense

* Oldmixon. † Boke. ‡ Tind. § Dalr.
‖ Ralph. ¶ Burnet.

of shame left, as the most *crying injustice* ever known in England; for the Lord Russell was condemned for words spoke in his hearing, which in England can never pass for treason.*

The lawyers are so sensible of the many apparent flaws in this proceeding, notwithstanding all the art used to hide them, that they are constrained to appeal to common sense, which is ever the last thing they do, whether the death of the King was not implied in such an attempt (seizing the guards); whereas the Jury have nothing to do with implication; and nothing can be more irreconcileable to common sense, than to suppose that a law enacted purposely to restrain and limit the interpretation of treasons, as that of Edw. III. notoriously was, should authorize any attempt of any kind, out of parliament, to enlarge and multiply them. And now, though it might be the obvious interest of venal counsel, *bene placito* judges, and prostitute courtiers, to hunt down an obnoxious man; it is somewhat hard to guess, why twelve of the people, who were equally concerned with the prisoner himself, in the preservation of civil and religious liberty, which was UNQUESTIONABLY the great point for which he exposed himself to such mighty hazards, should so far resign their reason into the hands of the court, as to accommodate their verdict to the subtleties of the lawyers, rather than the naked matter of fact, and the obligation of their own oath to be governed thereby. But in speaking of motives, we cannot be too modest; nor do these men want advocates, who numbered them among the good and faithful servants of the crown, for having doomed to death one of the BEST and NOBLEST of their fellow-subjects.†

Archerly says the crime charged upon Lord Russell was only misprision of treason: Lord Delamere, that it did not come within the statute on which the indictment was founded; therefore he ought to have been acquitted.

Burnet calls him that great, but innocent victim, that was sacrificed to the rage of a party, who was condemned for treasonable words said in his hearing.

And another styles Lord Russell 'a martyr for the true religion and the liberties of his country.'‡

Treby, the Recorder, who had so laboured with him in the same cause, was left to pronounce the sentence, and who had the meanness to submit to that piece of drudgery, and even to argue against an arrest of judgment, rather than lay down his office, of which he was nevertheless soon after deprived.

In arrest of judgment§ (the indictment being read in English) Lord Russell, to the words which charged him with conspiring the King's death, objected, very truly, that nothing of that nature had been proved against him, and consequently that judgment ought not to pass on him. The Recorder answered, the exception came too late; that it ought to have been made before the verdict; that if the evidence fell short of the charge, he should have pointed out to the Jury; for in such case they could not have found it a true charge; and that when they had found it, their

* Rapin. † Ralph. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

verdict passed for truth. The unhappy prisoner replied, that he thought it very hard to be condemned on a point that was in no one circumstance made good by evidence; and again insisted, that he might therefore legally demand an arrest of judgment. The Recorder had again recourse to evasions, and besought his Lordship to consider, that it was not the Court, but the Jury, who were answerable for this verdict; that in virtue of that verdict, the King's Attorney General had demanded judgment, which the Court could not refuse him; and that, therefore, he must proceed to pass sentence, which he did accordingly, after the usual forms.

Russell* (as well as Hampden) was much attached to the ancient constitution, and proposed only the exclusion of the Duke of York, and the redress of grievances. Applications were made to the King for a pardon; even money to the amount of 100,000*l.* was offered to the Duchess of Portsmouth, by the old Earl of Bedford, father to Russell.—The King was inexorable.—He had observed that the prisoner, besides his secret designs, had always been carried to the highest extremity of opposition in parliament. When such determined resolution was observed, his popularity, his humanity, his justice, his very virtues, became so many crimes, and were used as arguments against sparing him. Upon the whole, the INTEGRITY and VIRTUOUS INTENTIONS, rather than the capacity of this unfortunate nobleman, seem to have been the shining parts of his character.

Russell's *Consort*,† a woman of great merit, daughter and heiress of the good Earl of Southampton, threw herself at the King's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for those errors into which honest, however mistaken principles, had seduced her husband. These supplications were the last instance of female weakness (if they deserve the name) which she betrayed. Finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured, by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate Lord. With a tender and decent composure, they took leave of each other the day of his execution.

The King saw the virtuous and lovely *Lady Russell* weeping at his feet,‡ imploring but a short reprieve of a few weeks for her condemned Lord, with dry eyes and a stony heart, though she was the daughter of the Earl of Southampton, the best friend he ever had in his life.

A petition was drawn up for six weeks' reprieve by Lord Russell's *wife*,§ and though carried by so excellent a lady, and daughter to the King's greatest friend, it was rejected.

The Lord Russell was so universally esteemed,‖ that it could not be thought the King would refuse his pardon, which was begged by so powerful relations. The King would not so much as grant a reprieve of six weeks to his lady, though daughter of the Earl of Southampton, but made her this answer: 'Shall I grant that man six weeks, who, if it had been in his power, would not have granted

* Hume. † Ibid. ‡ Oldmixon. § Echard. ‖ Rapin.

me six hours?—Every one, however, was persuaded, that if there was a design to kill the King, the Lord Russell was not concerned in it; besides that he denied it with his last breath. He was not condemned for that crime, and the witnesses which deposed against him, said nothing like it; and yet the King, to have an excuse for refusing a short delay, supposed that the crime was fully proved. It cannot be denied, that though the Lord Russell had been guilty of the crime for which he was condemned, namely, of giving a tacit consent to an insurrection, the King could never have had an opportunity of exercising his clemency with more applause, to a man of so known virtue, near relation of the greatest families in the kingdom. But all these considerations were weak against the passion of revenge, with which the King and Duke of York were actuated. The Lord Russell had been one of the warmest opposers of the Duke; had joined the Earls of Shaftsbury and Essex, and carried up the exclusion-bill to the House of Lords. These were crimes not to be forgiven by the King and his brother: but perhaps most of those who have perused the transactions of this reign, will not think it so enormous a crime to endeavour to oppose an arbitrary power, which was beginning to be introduced.

All possible methods were used to save Lord Russell's life.* Money was offered to all that had interest, and that without measure. Petitions and intercessions were made by his relations, and himself was brought to promise† to live beyond sea, in any place the King should name, and meddle no more with English affairs; but all was in vain; the King and Duke both were fixed in their resolutions that he should die. Lord Cavendish generously offered to manage his escape, and to stay in prison for him while he should go away in his clothes; but he would not hearken to the motion; and the Duke of Monmouth sent him word, that if he thought it would do him any service, he would come in and run fortunes with him; but his answer was, that it could be no advantage to him to have his friends die with him.

Lord Cavendish offered—for a chosen party of horse to attack the guard as the coach passed by the street turning into Smithfield,‡ while another party did the same on the Old Bailey side, to take my Lord out, and mounting him on a horse, make off with him, which it is supposed the people would have facilitated. But Lord Russell would not by any means consent that his friends should risk their own lives to save his; but submitting himself patiently to his fate, he prepared to receive the dreadful stroke with the meekness, as well as the innocence of a lamb. At the place of execution, he declared in the words of a dying man, that he knew nothing of a plot against the King's person or government.

He nobly refused Lord Cavendish's offer;§ and, as he had submitted his case to the decision of the laws, was re-

* Burnet.

† In a letter to the Duke of York, dated 16 July, from Newgate, which was delivered to the Duchess, by Lady Russell.

‡ Oldmixon.

§ Ralph.

solved to abide the penalty. These instances serve to shew how many happy ingredients made up the composition of this amiable man, and how natural it was for his party to make use of his idolized name, to give a sanction to their cause.

The King (says Burnet) would not hear the discourse of shewing any favour to Lord Russell; and the Duke of York would bear the discourse, though he was resolved against the thing. But according to Dr. Wellwood, his Majesty was not only inclined to pardon him, but suffered some words to escape on the very day he was executed, as sufficiently shewed his irresolution in that matter.

In the Duke of Monmouth's journal it is said that the King told him,* he inclined to have saved the Lord Russell, but was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother the Duke of York.

The Duke of York descended so low in his revenge,† as to desire that this innocent Lord might be executed before his own door in Bloomsbury-square: an insult the King himself would not consent to.

An order was signed for his execution in Lincoln's-inn-fields; and a respite of only two days being at last asked, was refused.

When Rich,‡ the sheriff, who had been formerly violent for the exclusion, and had now changed sides, brought Lord Russell the warrant of death, his Lordship felt an inclination to say—'That they two should never vote again in the same way in the same house.' But recollecting that Rich might feel pain from the innocent pleasantry, he checked himself.

Doctors Burnet and Tillotson endeavoured to convince Lord Russell,§ and prevail on him to own he was satisfied resistance was unlawful, which they hoped might be a means to save his life; he answered, he could not say a lie. Tillotson did not think that remote fears and consequences, together with illegal practices, would authorize it. Whereas his Lordship declared, that upon this hypothesis 'he did not see a difference between a legal and a Turkish government; and that in case of a total subversion, it would be too late to resist.'

It is not improbable, that neither of them (T. or B.) had then sufficiently considered the point with so much attention and exactness as the subsequent measures of that reign, and the whole series of conduct of the following one, necessarily led them to do.

Being flattered with the hope of life by some divines,‖ if he would acknowledge to the King, that he believed subjects had, in no case whatever, a right of resistance against the throne, he answered in these words—'I can have no conception of a limited monarchy, which has not a right to defend its own limitations; my conscience will not permit me to say otherwise to the King.'

The laws now in force have made no provision for the indemnification of patriots who have recourse to arms,¶ nor will admit any subject to be held innocent, who breaks in

* Kennet. † Oldmixon. ‡ Dalr. § Birch. ‖ Dalr.
¶ Ralph on Lord Russell's opinion of resistance.

upon his allegiance. Whoever, therefore, in imitation of Curtius, leaps into the gulf, must not complain if it closes over him. But then, on the other hand, a crisis may happen, agreeable to Lord Russell's supposition, when the rod of power may be turned into a serpent; when the laws themselves may lose their authority, by losing their virtue, and when the whole business of government may be to exhaust all the ways and means of oppression, in order to fatten on the spoil; in which case, it would be a vain thing to urge the obligations of the subject, for all obligations would be vacated, and he who ventured most and farthest for the redemption of his country, though a nominal transgressor, would, to the end of the world, be numbered among the best and bravest of mankind.

Lord Delamere observes, as it is high treason to kill or hurt the King, so it is high treason to subvert the government, or to endeavour any alteration of it.—'I am persuaded, that they who set on foot the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, either did not understand it, or else helped it forward, in hopes of being well rewarded for their pains; for it is found by experience, that they understood the practice of it very ill; none cried out so much against King James, and arraigned his proceedings so much; none was so uneasy under it as they, when their own rights came to be touched, that had been the greatest assertors of this doctrine.'

Thus it appears by his Lordship that these were swayed by private interest, as their opponents were influenced by their attachment to the public. The nobility and gentry at Nottingham, in 1688, declared, that they did indeed own it to be rebellion to resist a King governing by law, but not to resist a tyrant, who made his will the law.

The Exeter association at the beginning of the revolution, was signed by several Lords and Gentlemen, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and eight Bishops. The Lords and Commons ordered a thanksgiving to God for the deliverance of the kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power: eleven Bishops were appointed to compose the prayers, six of whom (*viz.* Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Frampton of Gloucester, Ken of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough) were afterward nonjurors, though in *this very act* of theirs, they were, in their own King's sense, guilty of as much treason as Sidney. The appointing a day of thanksgiving was the first court motion; the House of Lords was full, the Bishops' bench in particular; scarcely any absent besides the Archbishop of Canterbury: and their Lordships not only agreed to it unanimously, but sent down their vote to the Commons, who as unanimously concurred in it. The Commons, having also prepared an Address of THANKS to the Prince of Orange, called upon the Lords to concur, which they did, with the same unanimity as the Commons had shewn before. Thus RESISTANCE was authorised in form by all the Lords, and the whole representative body of the kingdom; and of eleven bishops, appointed to draw up the form of thanksgiving, it does not appear that any one made a scruple to undertake the service. Tillotson and Burnet concurred in the revolution, which with the above, and

Sacheverel's trial, sufficiently justify Lord Russell's sentiments—that resistance was not absolutely illegal.

In the period from the revolution to the present time,* many laws have passed, which have confirmed and exemplified the doctrine of resistance, when the executive magistrate endeavours to subvert the constitution; and have maintained the superiority of the laws above the King, by pronouncing his dispensing power to be illegal.

'The Duke of York himself, while a subject, was *no enemy to the doctrine of resistance*. When his ambitious purposes were thwarted, anno 1680, instead of passive obedience, we see him ready for rebellion, or a civil war. 'He hopes (says Barillon to Louis) to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland, and he even alleges he has a party in England more considerable than is thought of. If the Duke of York remains in Scotland, he alleges he may be able to re-unite the factions which divide that country, and to put himself in a condition not to be oppressed there.' The intelligence of the Duke of York's project for a civil war was received by Louis as might have been expected: he instantly gave Barillon orders to encourage the Duke in it.—'If you see him resolved to support himself by means of Scotland and Ireland, you may assure him, that in that event, I will not refuse him secret supplies. If he hath friends enough and forces enough to maintain himself, I will not refuse,' &c. But Colonel Churchill's cautious temper prevented these sallies of the Duke from being attended with consequences.†

The firmness of Lord Russell in refusing the only means of purchasing his life from an exasperated court, by the least retraction of an opinion of which his conscience was thoroughly persuaded, is the strongest proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him so much weight and influence in his own time, and have endeared him to posterity.—Sir William Temple (no enemy to the prerogative) says, 'His setting himself at the head of those affairs (the exclusion, &c.) had a great influence in the house, as being a person in general repute, of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition.'

Lord Russell said,‡ he was still very glad he had not fled, for he could not have lived from his children and wife and friends—that was all the happiness he saw in life; and a proposition being sent him by one of the generousest and gallantest friends in the world (Lord Cavendish) of a design for making his escape, he, in his smiling way, sent his thanks very kindly to him, but said he would make no escape.—He could never limit his bounty to his condition; and all the thoughts he had of a great estate, that was to descend upon him, was to do more good with it. He thanked God, that now for these many years, he had made great conscience of all he did.—God knew the sincerity of his heart, that he could not go into a thing he thought ill, nor could he tell a lie.

Tillotson told the King,§ Lord Russell had declared to him, that he kept company with those unhappy men, only

* Blackstone. † Dalr. vol. ii. p. 274. 277.
‡ Burnet. § Echard.

to preserve the Duke of Monmouth from being led into any rash undertaking by them, and more particularly by the Earl of Shaftsbury. Being then asked, why Lord Russell did not discover their designs to the King, his answer was, that his Lordship had said, he could not betray his friends, nor turn informer against them, while he saw there was no danger; but if things had come to a crisis, he would have contrived some notice to have been given to the King of it; and in case of violence, would himself have been ready to oppose them with his sword in his hand. The King himself, afterward confirmed the truth of the greatest part of this account, and in conclusion said—'James (meaning the Duke of Monmouth) has told me the same thing.'

On the Tuesday before Lord Russell's execution,* after dinner, when his lady was gone, he expressed great joy in the magnanimity of spirit he saw in her, and said, the parting with her was the greatest thing he had to do, for he said she would be hardly able to bear it; the concern about preserving him filled her mind so now, that it in some measure supported her; but when that would be over, he feared the quickness of her spirits would work all within her. On Thursday, while my Lady was gone to try to gain a respite till Monday, he said, he wished she would give over beating every bush, and running so about for his preservation; but when he considered that it would be some mitigation of her sorrow, that we left nothing undone that could have given any probable hopes, he acquiesced: and, indeed, I never saw his heart so near failing him as when he spake of her: sometimes I saw a tear in his eye, and he would turn about, and presently change the discourse. On Friday, at ten o'clock at night, my Lady left him; he kissed her four or five times, and she kept her sorrow so within herself, that she gave him no disturbance by their parting.

The evening before his death, he suffered his children, who were young, and some of his friends, to take leave of him; in which he maintained his constancy of temper, though he was a very fond parent. He parted with his Lady at the same time with a composed silence; and she had such command of herself, that when she was gone, he said, the bitterness of death was past (for he loved and esteemed her beyond expression). He ran out into a long discourse concerning her—how great a blessing she had been to him, and said—'What a misery it would have been to him, if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing for the saving of his life.' He said—'There was a signal providence of God in giving him such a wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great religion, and great kindness to him; but her carriage in his extremity was beyond all. He was glad that she and his children were to lose nothing by his death; and it was a great comfort to him that he left his children in such a mother's hands, and that she had promised to him to take care of herself for their sakes; which I heard her do.'

* Burnet.

As to Lady Russell, she bore the shock with the same magnanimity which she had shewn at his trial. When in open court, attending at her Lord's side, she took notes, and made observations on all that passed, in his behalf; when prostrate at the King's feet, and pleading with his Majesty in remembrance of her dead father's services to save her husband, she was an object of the most lively compassion; but now (when without a sigh or tear she took her last farewell of him) of the highest admiration.

He was a most tenderly affectionate husband,* and perfectly happy in the mutual love of his most excellent Lady. She was a most faithful guardian of his fame. [See letter to Fitzwilliam, July 21, 1685.] Her Ladyship also, in the same affectionate regard to her Lord's memory, after the revolution, made use of her interest in favour of his chaplain, Mr. Samuel Johnson (who calls Lord Russell the greatest Englishman we had); and was very instrumental in procuring him the pension, and other bounties, which he received from that government. As she had promised her Lord to take care of her own life for the sake of his children, she was religiously mindful to perform that promise, and continued his widow to the end of her life, surviving him above forty years; for she lived to 29th September, 1723, in her 87th year.

The Duchess of Marlborough's opinion of Lady Russell, appears in the Account of her Conduct, p. 22.—'Regard for the public welfare carried me to advise the Princess to acquiesce in giving King William the crown. However, as I was fearful about every thing the Princess did, while she was thought to be advised by me, I could not satisfy my own mind till I had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady Russell of Southampton-house, and Dr. Tillotson, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the opinion of the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated.'

On Thursday, after dinner, Lord Russell finished his paper, and intended speech to the sheriffs, and wrote the following letter to the King:

From the Copy written by the LADY RUSSELL'S *own Hand. (Indorsed) 'A Copy of my* LORD'S *Letter to the* KING, *to be delivered after his Death; and was so by his Uncle,* COLONEL RUSSELL.'†

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

SINCE this is not to be delivered till after my death, I hope your Majesty will forgive the presumption of an attainted man's writing to you. My chief business is humbly to ask your pardon for any thing that I have either said, or done, that might look like want of respect to your Majesty, or duty to your government; in which, though I do to the last moment acquit myself of all designs against your person, or of altering of the government, and protest I know of no design now on foot against either; yet I do not deny

* Biog. Brit.

† John Russell, then Colonel of the first regiment of foot guards. He had been a Colonel for King Charles I. in the civil wars.

but I have heard many things, and said some things contrary to my duty; for which, as I have asked God's pardon, so I humbly beg your Majesty's. And I take the liberty to add, that, *though I have met with hard measure, yet I forgive all concerned in it from the highest to the lowest:* and I pray God to bless both your person and government, and that the public peace, and the true protestant religion may be preserved under you. And I crave leave to end my days with this sincere protestation—that my heart was ever devoted to that which I thought was your true interest; in which, if I was mistaken, I hope your displeasure against me will end with my life, and that no part of it shall fall on my wife and children; which is the last petition will ever be offered you from,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most faithful, most dutiful,
And most obedient subject,
Newgate, July 19, 1683. W. RUSSELL.

Canning, in his Poetical Epistle from Lord Russell to Lord Cavendish, supposes him describing himself thus:

While I unskill'd in oratory's lore,
Whose tongue ne'er speaks but when the heart runs o'er,
In plain blunt phrase my honest thoughts express'd,
Warm from the heart, and to the heart address'd;
Press'd by my friends and Rachel's fond desires,
(Who can deny what weeping love requires!)
Frailty prevail'd, and for a moment quell'd
Th' indignant pride that in my bosom swell'd;
I sued—the weak attempt I blush to own—
I sued for mercy, prostrate at the throne.
O! blot the foible out, my noble friend,
With human firmness, human feelings blend:
When love's endearments softest moments seize,
And love's dear pledges hang upon the knees,
When Nature's strongest ties the soul enthral,
(Thou canst conceive, for thou hast felt them all)
Let him resist their prevalence who can,
He must indeed be more or less than man.
Yet let me yield my Rachel honour due,
The tend'rest wife, the noblest heroine too!
Anxious to save her husband's honest name,
Dear was his life, but dearer still his fame.
When suppliant prayers no pardon could obtain,
And, wond'rous strange, e'en Bedford's gold prov'd vain,
Th' informer's part, her gen'rous soul abhorr'd,
Though life preserv'd had been the sure reward:
Let impious Howard act such treach'rous scenes,
And shrink from death by such opprobrious means.
O! my lov'd Rachel! name for ever dear,
Nor writ, nor spoke, nor thought without a tear!
Whose heav'nly virtues, and unfading charms,
Have bless'd through happy years my peaceful arms;
Parting with thee, into my cup was thrown,
If's harshest dregs else had not forc'd a groan:
But all is o'er—these eyes have gaz'd their last,
And now the bitterness of death is past.

By Barillon's letter, 19 July, 1683, it appears, that upon Lord Russell's condemnation, the younger Rouvigny, who

was a relation to the Bedford family, and had been obliged to it for every hospitable civility in England, begged the life of his friend from Louis XIV.; that Louis consented to write to Charles in favour of Lord Russell;* that Barillon told Charles, Rouvigny was coming over with the letter; but that Charles, with a polite humanity, answered —'I do not wish to prevent Mr. de Rouvigny from coming here, but my Lord Russell's head will be off before he arrives.'

In the manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's history, by the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State to Queen Anne, there is the following passage:

'My father told the King, the pardoning of Lord Russell would lay an eternal obligation upon a very great and numerous family, and the taking his life would never be forgotten; and his father being alive, it would have very little effect upon the rest of the family besides resentments; and certainly there is some regard due to Lord Southampton's daughter and her children. The King answered —"All that is true; but it is as true, that if I do not take his life, he will soon have mine;" which would admit of no reply.'

It is highly improbable that Charles had in truth any such groundless apprehensions. The Earl of Bedford, it is also to be remarked, petitioned in vain,† as did Lord Russell himself, in compliance with the request of his friends, rather than his own inclination.

After his condemnation, the King was strongly solicited in his behalf. Charles was inexorable; he dreaded the principles and popularity of Lord Russell; he deeply resented that eagerness and perseverance with which he had opposed him in the late parliaments.—Lord Russell resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His Lady, that he might not be shocked in his last moments, summoned up the resolution of an heroine, and parted from him without shedding a tear. He behaved with surprising serenity of temper: immediately before he was conveyed to the scaffold, he wound up his watch, saying, with a smile, —'Now I have done with time, and must henceforth think solely of eternity.' The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's-inn-fields, that the triumph of the court might appear the more conspicuous, and his being conveyed through the whole city of London; even the populace wept as he passed along in the coach with Tillotson and Burnet. He prayed God to preserve his Majesty and the Protestant religion; and without the least change of countenance, calmly submitted to the stroke of the executioner.

Dr. Burnet preached two sermons in Newgate to Lord Russell the day before he suffered, which were published by the author in 1713, 8vo. In the preface, page 13, he

* Dalr.

† King James II. in his distresses, 1688, addressed himself to the Earl:—'My Lord, you are an honest man, have great credit, and can do me signal service.'—'Ah, Sir (replied the Earl) I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service; but I had once a son that could have assisted you: but he is no more.' James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes. *Orrery. Rapin.* ‡ Smollett.

says, 'I had been with the Lord Russell in Newgate, four whole afternoons before that; for he desired to be alone till twelve of the clock. He did all that while possess his soul with so clear a serenity, in such a calm and Christian manner, that I still reckon it a particular happiness, as well as an honour, that I attended then upon him. Before I preached these sermons, he received the sacrament from Dr. Tillotson's hands. When the office was ended, he shewed us the *paper* he had prepared for his last words. We had some discourse with him about the lawfulness of consultations in order to resistance, in the state in which things were then. He thought the violence used in the matter of the Sheriffs of London, shewed a design to destroy such men as the court thought stood in their way, of which he was among the first; he prayed God he might be the last. We thought that was, indeed, an unjustifiable account; till a total subversion came, we still thought it was unlawful to resist. He said, "it would be then too late; he had all along had other notions of the English government, but he would not then enter upon farther debates in these matters." He spent the rest of the day till towards evening in devotion; then his children and friends came to him. He spoke to his children in a way suited to their age, with a good measure of cheerfulness, and took leave of his friends in so calm a manner as surprized them all. The parting with his Lady was not so easy to him: she stayed with him all the day, and till eleven at night; then they parted in a solemn, grave silence. Upon which, when she was gone, he said to me—"The bitterness of death is now past."'

The execution was performed not on Tower-hill,* the common place of execution for men of high rank, but in Lincoln's-inn-fields, in order that the citizens might be humbled by the spectacle of their once triumphant leader, carried in his coach to death through the city—a device which, like most others of the kind, produced an effect contrary to what was intended. The multitude imagined they beheld virtue and liberty sitting by his side. In passing, he looked towards Southampton-house; the tear started in his eye, but he instantly wiped it away. He prayed for the King; but with a prescience of what afterward happened, he foretold, 'That although a cloud hung now over the nation, his death would do more service than his life could have done.'

Lord Russell was accordingly beheaded, or basely sacrificed, Saturday, 21 July, 1683. Burnet says, 'He laid his head upon the block, without the least change of countenance, which, at two strokes, was severed from his body.'—This was the end of that great and good man, who both by his own experience found (as he told Lord Cavendish) and by his example shewed how prevalent the power of religion is, both to comfort and support our spirits in the time of extremity.

At Woburn Abbey is preserved (in gold letters) the speech of the Honourable William late Lord Russell to the Sheriffs; together with the paper delivered by his Lordship to them at the place of execution.

* Dalr.

LORD RUSSELL'S SPEECH *to the* SHERIFFS, *on delivering them the underwritten Paper, upon the Scaffold, just before his execution.*

MR. SHERIFF,

I EXPECTED the noise would be such, that I could not be very well heard. I was never very fond of much speaking, much less now; therefore I have set down in this *paper* all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from designs against the King's person, or of altering the government; and I still pray for the preservation of both, and of the Protestant religion.

I am told that Capt. Walcot has said something concerning my knowledge of the plot. I know not whether the report be true or no, but I hope it is not; for to my knowledge, I never saw him, to speak to him, in my whole life; and in the words of a dying man, I know of no plot, either against the King's life, or the government. But I have now done with this world; I am going to a better. I forgive all the world, and, I thank God, I die in charity with all men; and I wish all sincere Protestants may love one another, and not make room for Popery by their animosities.

The Paper delivered by LORD RUSSELL *to the* SHERIFFS.

I THANK God I find myself so composed and prepared for death, and my thoughts so fixed on another world, that I hope in God I am quiet from setting my heart on this; yet I cannot forbear now the setting down in writing a further account of my condition, to be left behind me, than I will venture to say at the place of execution, in the noise and clutter that is like to be there. I bless God heartily for those many blessings which He in his infinite mercy hath bestowed upon me through the whole course of my life; that I was born of worthy and good parents, and had the advantage of a religious education, which are invaluable blessings; for even when I minded it least, it still hung about me and gave me checks; and has now for many years so influenced and possessed me, that I feel the happy effects of it in this my extremity, in which I have been so wonderfully (I thank God) supported, that neither my imprisonment, nor fear of death, have been able to discompose me in any degree; but on the contrary, I have found the assurances of the love and mercy of God in and through my blessed Redeemer, in whom only I trust; and I do not question but I am going to partake of that fulness of joy which is in his presence. These hopes, therefore, do so wonderfully delight me, that I think this is the happiest time of my life, though others may look upon it as the saddest.

I have lived, and now am of the reformed religion, a true and sincere *Protestant*, and in the communion of the Church of *England*; though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of many people. I wish with all my soul all our differences were removed; and that all sincere *Protestants* would so far consider the dan-

ger of *Popery*, as to lay aside their heats, and agree against the common enemy; and that the *Churchmen* would be less severe, and the *Dissenters* less scrupulous; for I think bitterness and persecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For *Popery*, I look on it as an idolatrous and bloody religion, and therefore thought myself bound, in my station, to do all I could against it; and by that, I foresaw I should procure such great enemies to myself, and so powerful ones, that I have been now for some time expecting the worst; and blessed be God, I fall by the axe, and not by the fiery trial! yet, whatever apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a thought of doing any thing against it basely or inhumanly, but what would consist with the Christian religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom. And, I thank God, I have examined all my actions in that matter with so great care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my heart, that I went on sincerely, without being moved either by passions, by-ends, or ill designs. I have always loved my country much more than my life, and never had any design of changing the government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best governments in the world, and would always have been ready to venture my life for the preserving it; and would suffer any extremity rather than have consented to any design of taking away the King's life; neither had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me; and I look upon it as a very unhappy and uneasy part of my present condition, that there should be so much as mention made of so vile a fact, though nothing in the least was said to prove any such matter, but the contrary by my Lord Howard; neither does any body, I am confident, believe the least of it; so that I need not, I think, say more.

For the King, I do sincerely pray for him, and wish well to him and the nation, that they may be happy in one another; that he may be, indeed, the Defender of the Faith; that the Protestant religion, and the peace and safety of the kingdom may be preserved and flourish under his government; and that himself, in his person, may be happy both here and hereafter.

As for the share I had in the prosecution of the popish plot, I take God to witness, that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my heart, being then really convinced (as I am still) that there was a conspiracy against the King, the nation, and the Protestant religion; and I likewise profess, that I never knew any thing, directly or indirectly, of any practices with the witnesses, which I look upon as so horrid a thing that I never could have endured it; for, thank God, falsehood and cruelty were never in my nature, but always the farthest from it imaginable. I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon this nation, and that those that advance it, will stop at nothing to carry on their design. I am heartily sorry that so many Protestants give their helping hand to it; but I hope God will preserve the Protestant religion, and this nation, though I am afraid it will fall under very great trials, and very sharp suffer

ings; and, indeed, the impiety and profaneness that abounds, and appears so scandalously bare-faced every where, gives too just occasion to fear the worst thing that can befal a people. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shewed a concern for the public good, and have appeared hearty for the true interest of the nation, and the Protestant religion, grace to live so, that they may not cast a reproach on that which they endeavoured to advance, which (God knows) has often given me sad thoughts; and I hope such of my friends as may think they are touched by this, will not take what I say in ill part, but will endeavour to amend their ways, and live suitable to the rules of the true reformed religion, which is the only thing that can administer true comfort at the latter end, and relieve a man when he comes to die.

As for my present condition, I bless God I have no repining in my heart at it. I know, for my sins, I have deserved much worse at the hands of God; so that I cheerfully submit to so small a punishment as the being taken off a few years sooner, and the being made a spectacle to the world. I do freely forgive all the world, particularly those concerned in taking away my life; and I desire and conjure all my friends to think of no revenge, but to submit to the holy will of God, into whose hands I resign myself entirely.

But to look back a little; I cannot but give some touch about the *Bill of Exclusion*, and shew the reason of my appearing in that business, which, in short, is this—that I thought the nation in such danger of *Popery*, and that the expectations of a *popish successor* (as I have said in parliament) put the King's life likewise in much danger, that I saw no way so effectual to secure both, as such a bill. As to the limitations that were proposed, if they were sincerely offered, and had passed into a law, the Duke then should have been excluded from the power of a King, and the government quite altered, and little more than the name of a King left; so I could not see either sin or fault in the one, when all the people were willing to admit of the other; but thought it better to have a King with his prerogative, and the nation easy and safe under him, then a King without it, which would breed perpetual jealousies and a continual struggle. All this I say only to justify myself, not to inflame others, though I cannot but think my earnestness in that matter has had no small influence in my present sufferings. But I have now done with this world, and am going to a Kingdom which cannot be moved.

And as to the *conspiring to seise the guards*, which is the crime for which I am condemned, and which is made a constructive treason, for taking away the King's life, to bring it within the statute of Ed. III. I shall give this true and clear account:—I never was at Mr. Shephard's with that company but once, and there was no undertaking then of securing or seizing the guards, nor any appointed to view or examine them. Some discourse there was of the feesibleness of it; and several times by accident, in general discourse elsewhere, I have heard it mentioned as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to as a thing fit to be done. And I remember particularly, at my Lord

Shaftsbury's, there being some general discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out and exclaimed against it; and asked, if the thing succeeded, what must be done next, but mastering the guards and killing them in cold blood! which I looked upon as a detestable thing, and so like a *popish* practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the same time, the Duke of Monmouth took me by the hand, and told me very kindly—My Lord, *I see you and I are of a temper; did you ever hear so horrid a thing?* And I must needs do him justice to declare, that I ever observed in him an abhorrence of all base things.

As to my going to Mr. Shephard's, I went with an intention to taste sherry; for he had promised to reserve for me the next very good piece he met with when I went out of town; and if he recollects himself, he may remember I asked him about it, and he went and fetched a bottle; but when I tasted it, I said it was hot in the mouth, and desired that whenever he met with a choice piece, he would keep it for me, which he promised. I enlarged the more upon this, because Sir George Jefferies insinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a story about going thither; but I never said that was the only reason. I will now truly and plainly add the rest.

I was, the day before this meeting, come to town for two or three days, as I had done once or twice before, having a very near and dear relation lying in a languishing and desperate condition; and the Duke of Monmouth came to me, and told me, *he was extremely glad I was come to town, for my Lord Shaftsbury and some hot men would undo us all. How so, my Lord?* (I said)—*Why* (answered he) *they will certainly do some disorderly thing or other, if great care be not taken; and therefore, for God's sake, use your endeavour with your friends to prevent any thing of this kind.* He told me that there would be company at Mr. Shephard's that night, and desired me to be at home in the evening, and he would call on me, which he did. And when I came into the room, I saw Mr. Rumsey by the chimney, though he swears he came in afterward; and there were things said by some, with much more heat than judgment, which I did sufficiently disapprove: and yet for these things I stand condemned; but, I thank God, my part was sincere and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and pressed to me, that I was acquainted with these heats and ill designs, and did not discover them. But this could be but *misprision* of treason at most; so I die innocent of the crime I stand condemned for. I hope nobody will imagine, that so mean a thought should enter into me, as to go about to save myself by accusing others; the part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such, as to invite me to love life at such a rate.

As for the sentence of death passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one; for nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false I will not now examine) but some discourses about making some stirs; and this is not levying war against the King, which is treason by the statute of Edward III, not the consulting and discoursing about it; which was all that is witnessed against me; but by a strange fetch, the design of seizing the guards was

construed a design of killing the King; and so I was in that cast.

And now I have truly and sincerely told what my part was in that which cannot be more than a bare *misprision;* and yet I am condemned as guilty of a design of killing the King. I pray God, lay not this to the charge, neither of the King, Council, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury; and for the witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well. I shall not reckon up the particulars wherein they did me wrong; I had rather their own conscience would do that; to which, and the mercies of God, I leave them; only I shall aver, that what I said of my not hearing Colonel Rumsey deliver any message from my Lord Shaftsbury was true; for I always detested lying, though never so much to my advantage. I hope none will be so unjust and uncharitable, as to think I would venture on it in these my last words, for which I am soon to give an account to the great God, the searcher of hearts and judge of all things.

From the time of choosing Sheriffs, I concluded the heat in that matter would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprised to find it fall upon me; and I wish what is done to me may put a stop, and satiate some people's revenge, and that no more innocent blood be shed; for I must, and do still look upon mine to be such, since I know I was guilty of no treason; and therefore would not betray my innocency by flight, (though much pressed to it) of which I do not, I thank God, yet repent, how fatal soever it may have seemed to have proved to me; for I looked upon my death in this manner (I thank God) with other eyes than the world does. I know I said but little at the trial, and I suppose it looks more like innocence than guilt. I was also advised not to confess matter of fact plainly, since that certainly must have brought me within the guilt of *misprision:* and being thus restrained from dealing frankly and openly, I chose rather to say little, than to depart from that ingenuity that, by the grace of God, I had carried along with me in the former part of my life; and so could easier be silent, and leave the whole matter to the consciences of the Jury, than to make the last and solemnest part of my life so different from the course of it, as the using little tricks and evasions must have been; nor did I ever pretend to any great readiness in speaking. I wish those gentlemen of the law, who have it, would make more conscience in the use of it, and not run men down, and, by strains and fetches, impose on easy and willing juries, to the ruin of innocent men; for to kill by forms and subtleties of the law, is the worst sort of murder. But I wish the rage of hot men, and the partiality of juries may be stopped with my blood, which I would offer up with so much the more joy, if I thought I should be the last that were to suffer in such a way.

Since my sentence, I have had few thoughts, but preparatory ones for death; yet the importunity of my friends, and particularly the best and dearest wife in the world, prevailed with me to sign petitions, and make an address for my life, to which I was ever averse; for (I thank God) though in all respects I have lived the happiest and contentedest man in the world (for now very near fourteen

years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without difficulty that I did any thing for the saving of my life, that was begging; but I was willing to let my friends see what power they had over me, and that I was not obstinate nor sullen, but would do any thing that an honest man could do for their satisfaction, which was the only motive that swayed or had any weight with me.

And now, to sum up all, as I had not any design against the King's life, or the life of any man whatsoever, so I never was in any contrivance of altering the government. What the heats, passions, and vanities of other men have occasioned, I ought not to be responsible for, nor could I help them, though I now suffer for them. But the will of the Lord be done, into whose hands I commend my spirit! and trust that 'Thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven all my transgressions, the sins of my youth, and all the errors of my past life, and that Thou wilt not lay my secret sins and ignorances to my charge, but wilt graciously support me during that small time of life now before me, and assist me in my last moments, and not leave me then to be disordered by fear, or any other temptations, but make the light of thy countenance to shine upon me! Thou art my sun and my shield, and as thou supportest me by thy grace, so I hope thou wilt hereafter crown me with glory, and receive me into the fellowship of angels and saints, in that blessed inheritance purchased for me by my most merciful Redeemer, who is, I trust, at thy right hand, preparing a place for me, and is ready to receive me; into whose hands I commend my spirit!'*

Lord Russell died as he lived: to the last the friend of truth, protestantism, and the liberties of his country. His character, as a man of probity, honour, and virtue, hath hitherto been unexceptionable; it is attested, we have seen, by those who were very far from approving his political principles. Even Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, declared, that he lamented his Lordship's fall, being fully convinced by the Dean of Canterbury of his great probity, and constant abhorrence of falsehood. And, notwithstanding the *late attempt* to sully a name sanctified by sufferings and blood in the best of causes, founded merely on an *unvouched extract* of a letter, which, if genuine, is acknowledged to have been written by an interested, unprincipled, mercenary, popish emissary, a professed enemy to the religion and liberties of the men of whom he wrote,† Lord Russell will still be considered as a disinterested patron of liberty, and a man of distinguished virtue and perfect integrity.‡ These

* This paper gave great offence at court. Burnet was questioned about it; but Lady Russell, in a letter to the King (inserted in this collection) exculpated and justified him.

† It is very extraordinary, that from the time in which Barillon writes so confidently of his intimacy and intrigues with the whigs, or popular party, to the glorious Revolution, there is not the least trace of his having had any other connexion with them. Is not this very suspicious? The many articles of false intelligence he sent to Louis concerning things and occurrences preceding the Revolution, proved that he was not so much as acquainted with the persons, or exceedingly duped by them. ‡ Birch.

were qualities which his Lordship's excellent Lady represents as peculiarly eminent in him, in her letters, of which a large collection is still extant,* written with an uncommon force of style and sentiment.

Of Lord Russell an eminent person truly said,† 'That an age would not repair the loss to the nation; and whose name should never be mentioned by Englishmen without singular respect.' He passed through, and left this world, with as great and general a reputation as any one of the age; and his memory will be had in grateful and EVERLASTING REMEMBRANCE.

> Bring every sweetest flower,‡ and let me strew
> The grave where Russell lies, whose temper'd blood
> With calmest cheerfulness for thee§ resign'd,
> Stain'd the sad annals of a giddy reign;
> Aiming at lawless power, tho' meanly sunk
> In loose inglorious luxury. With him
> His friend, the British Cassius,‖ fearless bled;
> Of high determin'd spirit, roughly brave,
> By ancient learning, to the enlighten'd love
> Of ancient freedom warm'd.———

Honour and friendship attended Lord Russell beyond the grave.¶ Lord Cavendish joined the hand of his eldest son in marriage to one of the daughters of his deceased friend.

16 March, 1688-9.** An act for aversing the attainder of the late Lord Russell, received the royal assent. In the preamble to the bill, (which was the second King William passed) his execution is called a MURDER.

2 Nov. 1689. The House of Commons appointed a committee to examine who were the advisers and promoters of the murder of Lord Russell.

11 May, 1694.†† His father was created Marquis of Tavistock and Duke of Bedford. The reasons for bestowing these honours upon him are in part as follow:—(Preamble of the patent)—'That this was not the least, that he was the father to Lord Russell, the *ornament of his age*, whose great merits it was not enough to transmit by history to posterity, but they (the King and Queen) were willing to record them in their royal patent, to remain in the family as a monument consecrated to his *consummate virtue*, whose name could never be forgot, so long as men preserved any esteem for sanctity of manners, greatness of mind, and a love of their country, constant even to death. Therefore, to solace his excellent father for so great a loss, to celebrate the memory of so noble a son, and to excite his worthy grandson, the heir of such mighty hopes, more cheerfully to emulate and follow the example of his illustrious father, they intailed this high dignity upon the Earl and his posterity.'

* Presented to the public view in the following sheets.
† Calamy. ‡ Thomson. § Britannia.
‖ Algernon Sidney. ¶ Dair. ** Ralph. †† 6 W. & M.

A short Account of the RUSSELL *or* Bedford *Family.*

FRANCIS Earl of Bedford had four sons and four daughters. His sons were William, his successor; Francis died unmarried; John, who was a colonel in the civil wars for King Charles I. and after the restoration of King Charles II. made colonel of the first regiment of foot guards; and Edward, whose son Edward was one of the number of the nobility and gentry that, upon the fatal appearance of the extirpation of religion and liberty, in King James II.'s time, went over to the Prince of Orange, and was by King William made one of his Privy Council, Admiral Treasurer of the Navy, and Vice-admiral of England. In 1692 he gave a total overthrow to the French fleet, under the command of Mons. de Tourville, at La Hogue, for which, and other signal services, on the 7th of May, 1679, he was created Baron of Shingey, Viscount Barfleur, and Earl of Orford; he held also several considerable posts under Queen Anne and George I. married the Lady Margaret, youngest daughter to William the first Duke of Bedford, his father's brother, and died without issue, Nov. 26, 1727, in the 75th year of his age. The Lady Catharine, the eldest daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, was married to Robert Lord Brook; the Lady Anne to George Earl of Bristol; the Lady Margaret to James Earl of Carlisle, and the Lady Diana to Francis Lord Newport.

William, in 1641, succeeded Francis his father, and was the fifth Earl of Bedford. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he was constituted General of the Parliaments' horse, and in the battle of Edge-hill, 23d October, 1642, commanded the body of reserve in that army with great conduct and prowess; but afterwards disliking the service, his Lordship the next year left the Parliament and went to the King at Oxford, and from thence attended him to the siege of Gloucester, and battle of Newbury, and then to Oxford again. During the contest that followed for several years in the kingdom, he lived retired, but heartily concurred in the restoration of King Charles II. In 1672 he was elected a Knight of the Garter. In 1675 he distinguished himself by the countenance and support he gave to the English interest, relative to the test bill, in which he was so brave, that he joined in three of the protests. On the 11 May, 1694, he was created Marquis of Tavistock and Duke of Bedford, and died September 7, 1700. By Anne, daughter of Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, he had seven sons and three daughters: Diana, the eldest, was first married to Sir Grevil Verney, Knight of the Bath, and afterwards to William Lord Alington; Margaret to Edward Earl of Orford; his son William, Lord Russell, was unjustly beheaded, July 21, 1683; he married Lady Rachel, daughter of the Earl of Southampton, and left issue one son and two daughters; Lady Rachel, the eldest, was married to William Lord Cavendish (afterwards Duke of Devonshire;) and the Lady Catharine to John Manners, Lord Roos, afterwards Duke of Rutland. Wriothesley, the son, married Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of John Howland, Esq. (by

Elizabeth, sister by the half blood to Richard Earl of Castlemain) and was thereupon created Baron Howland of Streatham, June 13, 1695; and succeeded his grandfather in 1700, became Duke of Bedford, and died of the small-pox, May 26, 1711, in the 31st year of his age. By his wife, (who also died of the small-pox, June 29, 1724, aged 42)* he had three sons and two daughters; of which Lady Rachel, the eldest, was married to Scroop Egerton, Duke of Bridgewater; and Lady Elizabeth to William Capel, Earl of Essex: of the sons, William died in his infancy.

Wriothesley succeeded his father as Duke of Bedford, 1711, and married Lady Anne Egerton, only daughter of the before-mentioned Scroop Duke of Bridgewater, by the Lady Elizabeth Churchill, his first wife, third daughter and co-heir to John Duke of Marlborough; but dying without issue, Oct. 23, 1732, his only surviving brother John became Duke of Bedford, born September 30, 1710, who married first the Lady Diana Spencer, grand-daughter to John Duke of Marlborough, and younger daughter of Charles late Earl of Sunderland; she dying in 1735, greatly lamented (among her other valuable qualities, she was a steady and true friend to the poor), he afterwards married the Lady Gertrude, daughter of John Earl Gower, by whom he had Francis and Caroline, the latter married George Spencer Duke of Marlborough; Francis, Marquis of Tavistock, June 7, 1764, married Lady Kepel, daughter of William Earl of Albemarle, by whom he had three sons, Francis, John, and William; the eldest born in 1765, became Duke of Bedford 1771, at the death of his grandfather (to whom he succeeded), his father dying in March 1767, of a fall in hunting. Lady Tavistock was inconsolable, and languished till October, when she died at Lisbon. They had lived in perfect harmony and affection; and for their amiable, excellent dispositions, were universally beloved, respected, and honoured.

A Short Account of the SOUTHAMPTON (*Lady* RUSSELL'S) *Family.*

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, Earl of Southampton, is said to have been the most polite genius of a kind of Augustan

* On the 14th of June, 1724, a dreadful fire happened at Wooburn. The Duchess left the sufferers 500*l.* in her will. As it was some time before the money was paid, Lord John Russell (afterwards Duke of Bedford), then in his 16th year, expressed his concern to Mr. Holt, the executor, who objecting against the payment of interest, Lord John generously said, 'Pay it out of the money allowed for my expences;' and accordingly Mr. Holt paid Edmund Green, one of the treasurers, 550*l.* viz. 500*l.* her Grace's legacy, and 50*l.* a gift of Lord John Russell, being the amount of two years' interest thereof; as appears by an article in the minute-book, dated 9th May, 1726, signed by Sir John Chester, Sir Pynsent Chernocke, Bart. and five other trustees for the sufferers by the said fire. It may be proved by a multitude of instances, that the late Duke possessed the same generous and humane disposition during his whole life; it was peculiarly conspicuous in the close of it, as his last will evinces.

age, when wit and fine learning flourished in Shakspeare, Spencer, Raleigh, &c. He was so remarkable a patron of the ingenious, as to have made Shakspeare at one time a present of 1000*l.* to aid him in the completing of a purchase; and, not without reason, is supposed to have had a hand in his finest performances. He died, 22 James I. His eldest daughter, Penelope, was married to William Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, father of Henry, created Earl of Sunderland by King Charles I. and slain in his service, at the battle of Newbury, A. D. 1643. His son Thomas, by Elizabeth Vernon, sister to Sir Thomas Vernon, of Hodnet, Knight, came to the title an infant, whose character is thus drawn by Lord Clarendon:—'The Earl of Southampton was, indeed, a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the King's (Charles I.) cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and being born a younger brother, and his father and his eldest brother dying upon the point together, while he was but a boy, he was at first much troubled to be called my Lord, and with the noise of attendance, so much he then delighted to be alone. He had a great spirit; he had never had any conversation in the court, nor obligation to it; on the contrary, he had undergone some hardships from it, which made it believed that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe to it; and therefore, in the beginning of the parliament, no man was more courted by the managers of those designs. He had great dislike of the high courses which had been taken by the government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of Strafford for some exorbitant proceedings. But as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford to exceed the limits of justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a man of great sharpness of judgment, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate, that no man delivered himself more advantageously and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon the court, or purpose to have any, but wholly pursued the public interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the bed-chamber, and received both honours, the rather because, after he had refused to take a protestation, which both houses had ordered to be taken by all their members; they had likewise voted, that no man should be capable of any preferment in the church or state, who refused to take the same; and he would shew how much he contemned those votes. He went with the King to York, was most solicitous for the offer of peace at Nottingham, and was with him at Edge-hill, and came and staid with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war.'

Burnet calls him a man of great virtue and good parts, of a lively imagination and sound judgment, who had merited much by his constant adherence to the King's interest during the war, 'and the large remittances he made him in his exile.' Oldmixon mentions him thus—'That right noble, and virtuous peer, the Earl of Southampton, whose loyalty was not more exemplary than his love to his country, he said to Chancellor Hyde, it is to you we owe all we either feel or fear; for if you had not possessed us in all your letters with such an opinion of the King, (Charles II.) we would have taken care to put it out of his power, either to do himself or us any mischief, which is like to be the effect of our trusting him so entirely.' Burnet justly styled him—'A fast friend to the public—the wise and virtuous Southampton, who deserved every thing the King could give him.'

At the restoration he was made Lord High Treasurer, which he is said to have executed with great integrity and address. He died May 16, 1667. By his first wife, Rachel, (daughter of Henry de Massey, Baron of Rouvigny, and sister to the Marquis of Rouvigny, father of Henry Earl of Galway) he had Elizabeth, married to Edward Noel, afterwards Baron Wriothesley of Titchfield, Viscount Campden, Earl of Gainsborough; Rachel, married first to Francis Lord Vaughan, eldest son to Richard Earl of Carbery, and afterwards, about 1669, to William Lord Russell, son of William Earl of Bedford. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Leigh, Earl of Chichester, he had Elizabeth, married, first, to Joceline Piercy, the eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland, afterwards to Ralph Earl (and in 1705 Duke) of Montagu.

The Marquis of Rouvigny, though a protestant, was Ambassador from France to England in 1674; but being looked on by the Duke of York with an evil eye, he procured his recall. In 1685 he was Deputy-general of the reformed churches in France, and pleaded strongly, in a full audience, before Louis XIV. in favour of toleration, but to no purpose. He came to England, July 1685, to solicit the restoration of his great nephew (William Lord Russell's son) to the honours which his father had forfeited. One of his sons was killed at the battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690; the other, who had been instrumental in the reduction of Ireland, was by King William created Earl of Galway; he was Lieutenant-general in Piedmont, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy. When old Rouvigny, his father, died, he offered his service to the King, who unwillingly accepted of it, because he knew that an estate which his father had in France, of which he still had the income, would be immediately confiscated; but he had no regard to that, and heartily engaged in the King's service,* and was afterwards employed in many eminent posts, in all which he acquitted himself with great reputation, and was also deemed a man of eminent virtue, great piety, and zeal for religion.

* Tindal.

LETTERS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

RACHEL LADY RUSSELL,

AND OTHERS.

FROM THE ORIGINALS.

TO THE MOST NOBLE

JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD,

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK,
EARL OF BEDFORD, LORD RUSSELL,
BARON RUSSELL OF THORNHAUGH, BARON
HOWLAND OF STREATHAM,

Lord Lieutenant of the County of Bedford,
And one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

THESE are copies of my Lady Russell's letters from the originals. All those to Dr. Fitzwilliam, were by him returned in one packet to her Ladyship, with his desire they might be printed for the benefit of the public. Those to the Earl of Galway were preserved by his Lordship. One to King William was found in his pocket, and those to others are minutes or copies, all of her Ladyship's handwriting. Thousands that deserved a much better fate, are not to be recovered.

Doctor Burnet to my Lady Russell, writes—' I know you act upon noble and worthy principles, and you have so strange a way of expressing yourself, that I sincerely acknowledge my pen is apt to drop out of my hand when I begin to write to you, for I am very sensible I cannot rise up to your strain, &c.'* Again, when Bishop of Salisbury, he says—' As I have met with all the noble marks of a most obliging goodness and friendship, so no heart can possibly be fuller of a deep sense of it than mine is: and as long as I live I will reckon myself as much a property to you, as any thing can be that eats your bread; and you and yours may depend upon all that I can ever do, as much as if I were bought with your money.'

* Page 114.

Doctor John Tillotson (afterward Archbishop of Canterbury) writes,—'I need not to tell your Ladyship, how little reckoning is to be made of any of the comforts of this world. All our hopes, but that of another, are built upon uncertainty and vanity. Till we come to the region above; we shall never be out of the reach of storms and tempests, thither let us always be aspiring, and pressing forwards towards that blessed state: but why do I say this to one that hath a much more lively sense of these things?'

The Princess of Orange says—'I am sure I may learn from yours to consider God's Providence in such a manner as to make it easy.'

Doctor Simon Patrick, afterward Bishop of Ely, writes, 'I intend to read over the same authors which your Ladyship names; and if your Ladyship pleases to impart some of your thoughts upon any passages, I shall value them as misers are wont to do their treasure, who envy the sight of it to all the world besides.' And Judge Vaughan said to me—'He never knew man nor woman speak better than Lady Russell.'

Those high testimonies, and the conservation of these few remaining letters, which, with their excellent use, transmit to posterity part of so great a character in its own lustre, as your Grace's ever to be honoured ancestor, *The Right Honourable Rachael Lady Russell's*, give me assurance, that your Grace will accept of, and be well pleased with this TRANSCRIPT.

I am
Your Grace's most dutiful,
And most obedient servant,

A. D. 1748. THOMAS SELLWOOD.

LETTERS OF LADY RUSSELL,

&c. &c.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.*

THOUGH I am very earnest to hear, good Doctor, how my brother† is after his journey, and melancholy welcome home, yet I had not troubled you so very soon, if some discourse with Lord Shaftsbury‡ had not occasioned it, who

* A divine, for whom Lady Russell had a great esteem and friendship; he had been chaplain to her father, as he was afterward to the Duke of York; rector of Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, and canon of Windsor; which preferments he lost after the revolution, upon refusal of the oaths. *Birch's Life of Tillotson.*

† Lord Noel, who married Lady Russell's eldest sister, and was afterward Earl of Gainsborough.

‡ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury, who married Margaret, daughter of William Lord Spencer, and Penelope Wriothesley; on being disappointed in his political schemes, he retired to Holland (though he had been a bitter enemy to that state) in November, 1682, where he languished about six weeks, surrounded with a few miserable refugees, and then gave up the ghost, January, 1682-3. Ralph says, here let the man of eminent rank, title, fortune, capacity, greatness, and importance, pause and reflect one moment seriously and solemnly, on the eminent vanity of all those coveted and envied possessions, when they become the prostitutes of ambition. Ambition was Lord Shaftsbury's idol; to ambition he sacrificed all things; ambition made him a courtier; ambition made him a patriot; and to ambition, though not after the usual form, he died a martyr. Mr. Locke ascribes to him a noble saying, viz. 'That it is not the want of knowledge, but the perverseness of the will, that fills men's actions with folly, and their lives with disorder.' And it is greatly to be lamented, that he did not apply it to the regulation of his own life; in which case it had probably proved but one continued scene of happiness and glory to himself, and had been measured by an uninterrupted series of services to his country; whereas, by making all his powers and faculties the slaves of his passions, he was the instrument of tyranny when in power, and of confusion when out; was ever exposed to troubles and disappointments; and was always more hated than beloved by his own associates. Rapin calls him one of the greatest geniuses England had produced for many years; and adds, This is the testimony equally given him by friends and enemies.

It must be allowed, that notwithstanding all his inconstancy, party rage, dissimulation, and ruinous ambition, he was one of the most able and upright Judges that ever presided in the Court of Chancery. *Smollett.*

In 1695, Lord Ashley (grandson of the above-mentioned great Earl of Shaftsbury), at present famous for his moral tracts, en-

coming here, was much concerned to find they could have no meeting with my brother, to adjust things as they desired; but since he did not apply himself to do it, they hope he is satisfied how they must proceed, in order to their trust; and telling me it was necessary they should speak with the person who managed the estate, and understood it best, I thought it fit to let my brother know it, and so if he please the same person (who I suppose to be Holloway) may bring up the papers; and being by so safe a messenger, my brother may consider whether he will not send the original ones; for their council says, they must be here, before they can do any thing effectually. But my brother will, however, think fit to keep attested copies, and hasten those he sends up as soon as possible. This is what their council advises upon them as necessary, and absolutely so.

My Lord presents his service to my brother; I do so too; and heartily pray to God to comfort him in his sorrows, and direct him in all his actions.

I am, good Doctor,
Your humble servant,
R. RUSSELL.

6 March, 1679-80.

My kindest service to all the dear young ones.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

As unpleasing reports seldom miss reaching our ears, so did not that of your sickness many days before I could hear how it had pleased God to dispose of you; which I applied myself to do (with a real concern) by my sister Allington, the best way I could think on; and did learn from her the hopes of your recovery, which is better for us that you should abide in the flesh, though I am persuaded you might say, it had been better for you to depart, and to be with Christ! I was glad, good Doctor, to see a letter under your own hand: but now you must suffer a little rebuke, why you would not direct it to me: I am resolved to return my thanks no other way for your fine cheeses, which are a large stock for the whole winter.

A true friend, I find, will not be discouraged, or certainly you would, from the toil of a journey to Titchfield (being weak) at this time of year. I wish it may be for the

titled *Characteristics*, being returned a member for Poole, in Dorsetshire (while the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason was depending), and attempting to utter a premeditated speech in favour of that clause of the bill which allowed the prisoner the benefit of counsel, fell into such a disorder, that he was not able to proceed: but having at length recovered his spirits, and together with them the command of his faculties, he drew such an argument from his own confusion, as more advantaged his cause than all the powers of eloquence could have done: 'For (said he) if I, who had no personal concern in the question, was so overpowered with my own apprehensions, that I could not find words or voice to express myself, what must be the case of one whose life depended on his own abilities to defend it!' *Ralph*. This happy turn did great service in promoting that excellent bill.

good you design, and then, I believe, your respect and kindness both for the living and the dead will leave you no room for repentance. I am doubtful if this paper will find you, and therefore shall not enlarge, but sign myself,

Sir,

Your ever faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

20 Sept. 1680.

I desire your good prayers in respect to my present condition; I now drawing near my time, looking next month.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I WAS sensibly troubled, Sir, at the reading your letter, to find you seized with a fresh distemper: self-interest makes me lament it, for such must the concerns of my dear sister's children ever be to me. But I can sincerely assure you, I am sorry Dr. Fitzwilliam labours under the sufferings of bodily pains; though the freeness of the mind, and the reasoning, and comfortable reflections you are able to make, are inexpressible comforts, which others want, and few can attain to. Lord grant I may obtain in the day of trial, a resigned will and a strong belief! How happy then was the day of my birth, which began that of an eternal bliss! With what joy shall we praise God for ever! And in this contemplation, how light should all worldly afflictions seem to us! But here my heart condemns me, who cannot overcome in any degree, as I ought, the late loss of my loved sister. I pray God forgive my weakness, and that it may not provoke him to try me with greater crosses. Join with me good Doctor, as also that God would assist me in my approaching time.*

My sister Allington was yesterday brought to bed of a fine boy. I wish heartily to hear you are released of your ill companion. The Jesuits' Powder is here the infallible cure, and held most safe to be taken by the best doctors. I am, Sir,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

8 Oct. 1680.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR letters are still the welcome messengers of good news to me, good Doctor, and the good will I know you send them with, engages my receiving them the more kindly; and my best thanks are due to you for them; but where our chiefest thanks should be paid, I desire that neither myself, nor those concerned near as I was, may forget our duty. With your usual favour, oblige me by presenting my service cheerfully to my brother: I hope he still improves in his health. That they may both re-

* Lady Russell, on the 1st of November, 1680, was brought to bed of a son, afterward Duke of Bedford, father of the present Duke of Bedford. A. D. 1748.

joice many years in the well-being of one another, is the earnest prayer of,

Their humble servant and yours,
R. RUSSELL.

Tuesday Morning.

LADY RUSSELL'S LETTER TO THE KING. (CHARLES II.)

(General Dict. vol. viii. p 820.—Biog. Brit. vol. v. p 3538.)
Indorsed by her, 'My Letter to the King a few days after my dear Lord's death.'

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I FIND my husband's enemies are not appeased with his blood, but still continue to misrepresent him to your Majesty. 'Tis a great addition to my sorrows, to hear your Majesty is prevailed upon to believe, that the paper he delivered to the Sheriffs at his death was not his own. I can truly say, and am ready in the solemnest manner to attest that [during his imprisonment]* I often heard him discourse the chiefest matters contained in that paper, in the same expressions he therein uses, as some of those few relations that were admitted to him, can likewise aver. And sure 'tis an argument of no great force, that there is a phrase or two in it another uses, when nothing is more common than to take up such words we like, or are accustomed to in our conversation. I beg leave farther to avow to your Majesty, that all that is set down in the paper read to your Majesty on Sunday night, to be spoken in my presence, is exactly true;† as I doubt not but the rest of the paper is, which was written at my request; and the author of it in all his conversation with my husband, that I was privy to, shewed himself a loyal subject to your Majesty, a faithful friend to him, and a most tender and conscientious minister to his soul. I do therefore humbly beg your Majesty would be so charitable to believe, that he who in all his life was observed to act with the greatest clearness and sincerity, would not at the point of death do so disingenuous and false a thing as to deliver for his own, what was not properly and expressly so. And if, after the loss in such a manner of the best husband in the world, I were capable of any consolation, your Majesty only could afford it by having better thoughts of him, which when I was so importunate to speak with your Majesty, I thought I had some reason to believe I should have inclined you to, not from the credit of my word, but upon the evidence of what I had to say. I hope I have writ nothing in this that will displease your Majesty. If I have, I humbly beg of you to consider it as coming from a woman amazed with grief; and that you will pardon the daughter of a person who served your Majesty's father in his greatest extremities, [and your

* The words included in the brackets are crossed out.

† It contained an account of all that passed between Dr. Burnet and his Lordship, concerning his last speech and paper. It is called the *Journal*, in the History of his own time, vol. i. p. 562.

Majesty in your greatest posts] and one that is not conscious of having ever done any thing to offend you [before.] I shall ever pray for your Majesty's long life and happy reign.

Who am with all humility,
May it please your Majesty, &c.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I NEED not tell you, good Doctor, how little capable I have been of such an exercise as this.* You will soon find how unfit I am still for it, since my yet disordered thoughts can offer me no other than such words as express the deepest sorrows, and confused, as my yet amazed mind is. But such men as you, and particularly one so much my friend, will, I know, bear with my weakness, and compassionate my distress, as you have already done by your good letter, and excellent prayer. I endeavour to make the best use I can of both; but I am so evil and unworthy a creature, that though I have desires, yet I have no dispositions, or worthiness, towards receiving comfort. You that knew us both, and how we lived, must allow I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common with others to lose a friend; but to have lived with such a one, it may be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so consequently lament the like loss. Who can but shrink at such a blow, till by the mighty aids of his Holy Spirit, we will let the gift of God, which he hath put into our hearts, interpose? That reason which sets a measure to our souls in prosperity, will then suggest many things which we have seen and heard, to moderate us in such sad circumstances as mine. But alas! my understanding is clouded, my faith weak, sense strong, and the devil busy to fill my thoughts with false notions, difficulties, and doubts, as of a future condition* of prayer: but this I hope to make matter of humiliation, not sin. Lord let me understand the reason of these dark and wounding providences, that I sink not under the discouragements of my own thoughts: I know I have deserved my punishment, and will be silent under it; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too sadly I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, to walk with, to eat and sleep with; all these things are irksome to me now; the day unwelcome, and the night so too; all company and meals I would avoid, if it might be; yet all this is, that I enjoy not the world in my own way, and this sure hinders my comfort; when I see my children before me, I remember the pleasure he took in them; this makes my heart shrink. Can I regret his quitting a lesser good for a bigger? O! if I did steadfastly believe, I could not be dejected; for I will not injure myself to say, I offer my mind any inferior consolation to supply this loss. No; I most willingly for-

* Lord Russell, her husband, was executed, or rather murdered, July 21, 1683.

* Two or three words torn off.

sake this world—this vexatious, troublesome world, in which I have no other business, but to rid my soul from sin; secure by faith and a good conscience my eternal interests; with patience and courage bear my eminent misfortunes, and ever hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of it. And when I have done the remnant of the work appointed me on earth, then joyfully wait for the heavenly perfection in God's good time, when by his infinite mercy I may be accounted worthy to enter into the same place of rest and repose where he is gone, for whom only I grieve I do* fear. From that contemplation must come my best support. Good Doctor, you will think, as you have reason, that I set no bounds, when I let myself loose to my complaints: but I will release you, first fervently asking the continuance of your prayers for

Your infinitely afflicted,

But very faithful servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, 30 September, 1683.

DR. FITZWILLIAM TO LADY RUSSELL.

MADAM,

A FORTNIGHT ago I received a letter from your honour, which by its date, the 30th of the last, should have been near the same measure of time coming to me; and the reason why I deferred the acknowledgment of it to this minute, was to have gained time to return such an answer to it which should have been accompanied with a little treatise suited to your circumstances: but the want of leisure, occasioned through the destitution of a curate by illness, and the consumption of my time in correcting several copies of a sermon sent me from London with a great many errors of the press, hath hitherto obstructed that design; and I have now no more (because I will defer the cognition of your excellent letter, freighted with divine thoughts, no longer) than will serve me barely to name the heads of those considerations, which, through God's Spirit setting them home upon your heart, may fortify you with patience, to support your condition, as sad as you represent it to yourself, and have been pleased to do in pathetical expressions to me. And if they shall have any way this operation on you, to dispose you but to that, I shall, upon your intimating so much, clothe these dry bones with flesh and skin, and give them some complexion, and last of all, after your use, to whom I devote them first, if they may be made subservient to that of others in the same or like case, make them public. Those, or at least some of those, I shall insist upon, you shall find here annexed, with a prayer to be addressed to Christ Jesus, to enable you to imitate the admirable example of patience, charity, &c. he set you. But though this hath been long a coming, and comes maimed and imperfect, I hope it will not be the less acceptable to your Ladyship, or at least the less pardonable.

I am, Madam, upon the account you suggest, of know-

* A word torn off.

ing in what entire friendship you and your Lord lived together, most ready to acknowledge your loss of him, as well as your manner of losing him, to be very afflicting; and to allow you cannot have too deep a sense of it, while it proceeds from the value and estimation of a wife ought to have for a dear husband; but then I must add, your thoughts may dwell too long upon that disconsolate theme, and so prejudice both your body and your soul, your natural life and your spiritual; for, as the sense is hurt with conversing too long with a vehement object, though it pleaseth, the eye, for example, by gazing too much, or too long on light, so may the mind, by a continued meditation on grief, though it's delighted with the contemplation, and the body so macerated as not only to be made unserviceable to the mind, but to render that so to herself.

This way I am afraid you offend; and then it is, when your thoughts have been saddened to a great degree, by a long fixation on the doleful object, suppose, that they pass into black and dismal ones of questioning God's providence, and a future state, the devil facilitating the passage, which almost seems natural, with his suggestions thereu.

And yet, while he is busy to amuse you with these, God's grace, as you most christianly observe, powerfully steps in to correct them, by putting you upon humbling yourself for the rising, or his injection of such an impiety, and enables you to concur with that motion, in having a kind of hatred and detestation of yourself for them.

In this sense, God brings good out of evil; and, as I remember, the devout St. Austin, in his confessions, mentions this as the benefit of sin repented of. He means, that it begets humility; and no doubt but God permits many exalted Christians in the degrees towards perfection, to fall sometimes into some gross, scandalous sin, to abate their more dangerous spiritual pride. I do not charge such imaginations as these, when they enter into your mind, but that yields not its consent to them, as direct downright sins; nor are you, Madam, to do so: but however you are to lament them as you do, as the unhappy effects of corruption, and endeavour immediately to suppress them, and reject them with disdain.

Towards getting rid of such importunate, troublesome guests, you can take no more successful method than to transfer your thoughts from the sad object which occasionally excited them, to others; as first, to the making reflection on the emptiness of the world, when most enjoyed, in one respect, that it yields no satisfaction, and its fruitfulness in another, that it produces briers and thorns without number, to scratch and tear the mind. Hereby you will gain another important advantage. Wean yourself from it; and if you are so weaned, you may rather thank God than complain that you have been afflicted, even by the dispensation which makes you heavy, since taking him out of the world whom you loved most in it, hath quite taken away your affections towards it. But because this contemplation, by accident, may produce impatience, render you weary of continuing in a world of vanity and trouble, and where you want the desire of your

eyes; you are, in the next place, as you do likewise practise, to ascend thither with your meditations where faith alone, and not reason, can mount them; I mean, place them on that happiness above, which is perfect, and not to be disturbed by the interposition of ill accidents, eternal, and not to be concluded by time, reserved for you and*

DOCTOR BURNET† TO LADY RUSSELL.

I WAS just sitting down to write an answer to your Ladyship's former letter, when I received your last, so now I have two upon me, and therefore I hope you will be so good as to forgive the length of this, since the bearer is sure, I will say many things on which I would not venture by the ordinary conveyance. I must begin with your last. I see I was not mistaken in thinking, I durst venture on saying, what occurred to me on a thing which in itself was highly good and charitable, but in such an age might, as I judged, not look so well. I can truly say the vast veneration I have for your Ladyship, both upon his account to whom you were so dear, and on your own, which increaseth with every letter I receive from you, makes me impatient if any thing should occur that might be matter of censure. I know you act by noble and worthy principles, and you have so strange a way of expressing yourself, that I sincerely acknowledge my pen is apt to drop out of my hand when I begin to write to you, for I am very sensible I cannot rise up to your strain. I am confident God has not bestowed such talents on you, and taken such pains, both by kind and severe providences, to distinguish you from most other women in the world, but on a design to make you an instrument of much good; and I am very glad you intend to employ so much of your own time in the education of your children, that they shall need no other governess; for, as it is the greatest part of your duty, so it will be a noble entertainment to you, and the best diversion and cure of your wounded and wasted spirits. I long so much to see your Ladyship, and them about you, in this employment, that I hope you will pardon me, if I beg leave to come down and wait on you, when the Master of the Rolls goes out of town; for since it was not thought fit that I should go on with the Thursday's lecture, I am master of my own time during the weeks of the vacation; and I will esteem that which I hope to pass at Woborne as the best of them.

* The remainder gone.

† After Lord Russell's death, Dr. Burnett was by Charles the Second's order, discharged from preaching the Thursday lecture at St. Clement's; and for a sermon preached on the 5th of November, on the words—'Save me from the lion's mouth, thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns;' which was thought of dangerous construction, because the lion and unicorn were the two supporters of the King's scutcheon, he was by another order dismissed from being preacher of the Rolls; and having such public marks of jealousy set on him, he thought it convenient to withdraw, and went out of England, 1684.—*Burnet's History.*

I will not touch in all this letter your deep and ever-green and tender wound. I believe the touching of it in the softest manner, gives more pain than all I can say about it can mitigate, and therefore I shall say no more of it, but that it comes in as a large part of my best thoughts that God would give you such an inward sense of his love, and of the wisdom and kindness of his providence, and of the blessed state to which he has raised that dearest part of yourself, and whither the rest will follow in due time, that all these things may swallow up the bitter sense of the terrible stroke you lie under, and may possess you with those true and solid joys that are the only proper cure for so deep a wound. But I will dwell no longer on so dismal a subject, for I am afraid you dwell too much on it.

Now the business of the printer* is at an end, and considering how it was managed, it has dwindled to a very small fine, which one may well say was either too much or too little. The true design of the prosecution was to find me in it, and so the printer was tampered with much to name the author.

I have never taken notice to your Ladyship of the quick sense I saw you expressed in a letter to Mr. Hoskins on that head; but I had no sure bearer till Mr. Pordage went down, and it did not then occur to my thoughts. I hope you believe I have all the just and high sense of that concern that becomes me, and would have been very little troubled, though they could have*

2 Feb. 1683.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE received, good Doctor, your friendly letter and excellent prayers, indeed, very excellent ones; and although neither could have come too soon, yet I could not wonder they staid so long. The rigour of the season has been extreme as ever was known sure in England, or in these parts of the world; but a little time of patience has carried us through all the inconveniencies and hardship of it, yet not without very great and very sharp sufferings to numbers of the poorer sort; the consideration of which is a most fit contemplation for my sad thoughts, whose sufferings of another nature will have a like period; and, by faith and trust in God, a happy one, when I shall for ever (as is my hope my loved Lord is now) be enabled to perform the everlasting race of obedience, which here, by reason of those strong impressions things in this life of sense make upon us, is much weakened. But I am much encouraged by your allowing that I have a just sense of sorrow, and that you saw not my mourning so much to be condemned as you apprehended they were; it excites me better to struggle for my duty, than, when doing all I can, to think I do so ill, that I may have reason to be amazed, and fear a punishment in both states; but my merciful Fa-

* John Darby, the printer, having been convicted of printing a libel, called Lord Russell's Speech, made his submission this term, Feb. 1683-4, and was fined but 20 marks.—Salmon's Chron. Hist.

* What followed is cut off.

ther truly knows the sharpness of my sorrows, and the weakness of my person, not fitted to stand out against such storms; but with his help we can do all things. As to the two points your letter, Doctor, insists upon, I will first say for myself, I am very confident I shall ever so take either the reproof, caution, or advice of a friend in such a manner, as I shall never lose a friend for acting the part of one to me, who shall make at least this advantage by finding such, that I shall be subject to the fewer deliberate follies; by sudden acts, I expect to be guilty of many, left to the trouble and distraction of choice alone, as I must now be. Therefore, good Doctor, let me engage you to continue the same way of proceeding, though I may not always comply with what you offer to me, yet that may be the best for me, if I could discern it so. Now for the first particular concerning a chaplain, I shall not be untractable. I told you I could not live under my distresses without one: for the delay I touched upon, the distance of time now before I shall be settled, so as to require the use of one, will much take off my former objections; and as to the definition of a prudent person, you and I shall reconcile it to the same thing. I approve with you the Church of England the best church, the best offices and services in it, upon the face of the earth that we know of; but, Sir, I shall covet one so moderate as not to be impatient and passionate against all such as cannot think so too; but of such a temper as to be able to converse peaceably with such as may have freedom in my family, though not of it, without giving offence, and I take it the best way of gaining good people to our opinions.

As to your kind offer of assistance, whenever cause for it, I shall ever use a freedom with you, Sir; but, in a fit return, remember an old proverb, not to spur a free horse too fast. Sir, your circumstances, and my heavy ones, may most likely render that unfit; but I shall not in appearance be soon in want, seeing my removes next summer will probably be very short. For having an eye upon any particular person, I must approve, and thank you for your kindness in it; but if you have, let it be so; the person may not know it, for this reason, several that had opportunities of seeing me often in my first extremities, urged my doing what you have since done; and to them I answered as I have to you. Now, if they have been mindful of my necessities, and have any person fit to*

Woborne Abbey, 22 Feb. 1683-4.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

'Tis above a fortnight, I believe, good Doctor, since I received your comforting letter; and 'tis displeasing to me that I am now but sitting down to tell you so; but it is allotted to persons under my dismal title, and yet more dismal circumstances, to have additional cares, from which I am sure I am not exempt, but am very unfit to discharge well or wisely, especially under the oppressions I feel; however, 'tis my lot, and a part of my duty remaining to my choicest friend, and those pledges he has

* Remainder lost.

left me. That remembrance makes me do my best, and so occasions the putting by such employments as suit better my present temper of mind, as this I am now about; since if, in the multitude of those sorrows, that possess my soul, I find any refreshments, though, alas! such as are but momentary, 'tis but casting off some of my crowded thoughts to compassionate friends, such as deny not to weep with those that weep; or in reading such discourses and advices as your letter supplies me with, which I hope you believe I have read more than once; and if I have more days to pass upon this earth, I mean to do so often, since I profess, of all those have been offered me (in which charity has been most abounding to me) none have in all particulars more suited my humour. You deal with me, Sir, just as I would be dealt withal; and 'tis possible I feel the more smart from my raging griefs, because I would not take them off, but upon fit considerations; as 'tis easiest to our natures to have our sore in deep wounds gently handled; yet, as most profitable, I would yield, nay desire, to have mine searched, that, as you religiously design by it, they may not fester. 'Tis possible I grasp at too much of this kind, for a spirit so broke by affliction; for I am so jealous, that time, or necessity, the ordinary abater of all violent passions (nay, even employment, or company of such friends as I have left), should do that, my reason or religion ought to do, as makes me covet the best advices, and use all methods to obtain such a relief, as I can ever hope for, a silent submission to this severe and terrible providence without any ineffective unwillingness to bear what I must suffer; and such a victory over myself, that, when once allayed, immoderate passions may not be apt to break out again upon fresh occasions and accidents, offering to my memory that dear object of my desires, which must happen every day, I may say every hour, of the longest life I can live; that so, when I must return into the world, so far as to act that part is incumbent upon me, in faithfulness to him I owe as much as can be due to man, it may be with great strength of spirits, and grace to live a stricter life of holiness to my God, who will not always let me cry to him in vain. On him I will wait, till he have pity on me, humbly implorring, that by the mighty aids of his most Holy Spirit, he will touch my heart with greater love to himself. Then I shall be what he would have me. But I am unworthy of such spiritual blessings, who remain so unthankful a creature for those earthly ones I have enjoyed, because I have them no longer. Yet God, who knows our frames, will not expect that when we are weak, we should be strong. This is much comfort under my deep dejections, which are surely increased by the subtile malice of that great enemy of souls, taking all advantages upon my present weakened and wasted spirits, assaulting with divers temptations, as, when I have in any measure overcome one kind, I find another in the room, as when I am less afflicted (as I before complained), then I find reflections troubling me, as omissions of some sort or other; that if either greater persuasions had been used, he had gone away; or some errors at the trial amended, or other sp-

plications made, he might have been acquitted, and so yet have been in the land of the living (though I discharge not these things as faults upon myself, yet as aggravations to my sorrows): so that not being certain of our time being appointed, beyond which we cannot pass, my heart shrinks to think his time possibly was shortened by unwise management. I believe I do ill to torment myself with such unprofitable thoughts*

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

BELIEVE me, good Doctor, I find myself uneasy at reading your short letter of 8th April, (which I have but newly received) before I had answered yours of the 11th March. I have several times taken a pen in my hand to do it, and have been prevented by dispatching less pleasing dispatches first, and so my time was spent before I came to that intended before I laid away the pen.

The future part of my life will not I expect pass, as perhaps I would just choose; sense has been long enough gratified; indeed so long, I know not how to live by faith; yet the pleasant stream that fed it near fourteen years together, being gone, I have no sort of refreshment, but when I can repair to that living fountain, from whence all flows: while I look not at the things which are seen, but at those which are not seen, expecting that day which will settle and compose all my tumultuous thoughts in perpetual peace and quiet; but am undone, irrecoverably so, as to my temporal longings and concerns. Time runs on, and usually wears off some of that sharpness of thought inseparable with my circumstances, but I cannot experience such an effect, every week making me more and more sensible of the miserable change in my condition; but the same merciful hand which has held me up from sinking in the extremest calamities, will (I verily believe) do so still, that I faint not to the end in this sharp conflict, nor add sin to my grievous weight of sorrows, by too high a discontent, which is all I have now to fear. You do, I doubt not, observe I let my pen run on too greedily upon this subject: indeed it is very hard upon me to restrain it, especially to such as pity my distress, and would assist towards my relief any way in their power. I am glad I have so expressed myself to you, as to fix you in resolving to continue the course you have began with me, which is to set before me plainly my duty in all kinds: it was my design to engage you to it; nor shall you be less successful with me, in your desires, could there happen occasion for it, which is most unlikely, Doctor Fitzwilliam understanding himself and the world so well. On neither of the points, I believe, I shall give you reason to complain, yet please myself in both, so far of one mind we shall be.

I am entertaining some thoughts of going to that now desolate place Straton, for a few days, where I must expect new amazing reflections at first, it being a place where I have lived in sweet and full content; considered the condition of others, and thought none deserved my envy: but

* Remainder lost.

I must pass no more such days on earth; however, places are indeed nothing. Where can I dwell that his figure is not present to me! Nor would I have it otherwise; so I resolve that shall be no bar, if it proves requisite for the better acquitting any obligation upon me. That which is the immediate one, is settling, and indeed giving up the trust, my dear Lord had from my best sister.* Fain would I see that performed, as I know he would have done it had he lived. If I find I can do as I desire in it, I will (by God's permission) infallibly go; but indeed not to stay more than two or three weeks, my children remaining here, who shall ever have my diligent attendance, therefore shall hasten back to them.

I do not admit one thought of accepting your kind and religious offer, knowing it is not proper. I take, if I do go, my sister Margaret, and believe Lady Shaftsbury will meet me there. This I choose, as thinking some persons being there to whom I would observe some rules, will engage me to restrain myself, or keep in better bounds my wild and sad thoughts. This is all I can do for myself. But blest by the good prayers of others for me, they will, I hope, help me forward towards the great end of our creation.

I am, most cordially, good Doctor,
Your ever mournful, but
Ever faithful friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL.

I hear my Lord Gainsborough and my Lady will be shortly at Chilten. She is one I do truly respect: I can never regret being near her, though my design is to converse with none but lawyers and accountants.

Woborne Abbey, 20 April, 1684.

DR. FITZWILLIAM TO LADY RUSSELL.

THE consolation I long expected, I found by a letter of yours which came to my hands on the 3rd instant; for it relieved me of my little fears, lest the freedom or confidence I took in debating two points, in which I differed from your honour, might have disaffected you (little I call them, because I had great hopes that your goodness was such as would not be distasted easily by any errors of mine committed through imprudence, which otherwise than with such a mixture would have operated a great deal of trouble and affliction), and cured my solicitousness, that at least if it had not offended you, it was because it had unhappily taken another course than it was directed, and so miscarried clearly on the way. And since you accepted with so much benignity and candour, my liberty in urging you upon those particulars, I am abundantly satisfied that you see stronger and more cogent reasons to engage your dissent, than those I offered to gain your concurrence with my judgment, or rather opinion in them. And more, I ought to be, if there were room for that more, since you profess your inclinations to make such a temperament as, though it be not a compliance with what I thought might be no imprudent or wrong advice to one in

* Elizabeth Wriothesley, afterward Noel.

your circumstances, yet will not be an utter rejection of it. But although this be a satisfaction abundantly to content me, yet the pleasure which another part of your letter gave me was of a finer and nobler kind, or at least transcending it in degree, wherein you gave me more than intimation, that if I should (offend in doing that which you excite me to do, and tell me it was your primary intention I should), either by not considering your condition or my own, which it is more than probable I may, you will frankly reprove me for any mistake such an inadvertency may make me guilty of. The condescending to take this pains with me, who shall not be incorrigible under your rebukes or instructions, as it is that for which I esteem myself obliged to render your Ladyship all real humble thanks, so it will be the chief motive to animate me to proceed as I have begun, and as you desired I should continue.

I do believe most easily (and should without your declaration have guessed), when you come to Straton, whither business seems rather to summon you, than your own inclinations to carry you, your grief will be apt to renew itself, that the very place where you have so often enjoyed your Lord, envying the greater happiness of none, while you possest him, will refresh this image of him (who is so perpetually in your thoughts and memory now), on your imagination then, and the destitution of his real self, will, when you reflect that all the fruition you have left of him, is merely his figure in your fancy, cause a stronger sense of your loss, than you have constantly at Woborne, where he and you were not so much conversant as at Straton, so too, a sharper fit of grief than you there feel.

But this is that against which you are to oppose your whole self; and, as I remember I directed you, you are not to permit your thoughts to dwell on the object God hath removed from you, nor permit them perpetually to compare your present sad condition with your former pleasing one, in that place; for, if you do, you will not act according to your professions, much less your duty, in striving against immoderate sorrow; but you lay yourself down under it. And you may as reasonably suppose my thoughts can be fixed on a foul object, and I not corrupted, as that yours can be employed on your Lord, and the sweet contentment of enjoying him there, and yet not be saddened to a degree of sin.

You are therefore, Madam, to divert your thoughts to another kind of reflection, and consider, not so much what God hath taken from you lately at Straton, as what he has left you still untouched at Woborne. And that if you grieve too much for the one (for I will not think you repine), you may provoke him to increase the troubled stream with plenteousness of tears, by re-seizing into his own hands some parcel of that happiness which he is yet pleased to continue to you in yours there.

Madam, you are to meditate on this, that though you cannot enjoy your Lord at Straton, yet you may, unless it be your own fault, your God there. And you are to labour, from such meditations, to say truly with your heart—How amiable and delightful is this place, where he, who is infinitely more valuable to me than the person he gave me,

and hath taken away hence, and in whom that person was or ought only to have been dear to me, and this place grateful; the God of all love, and all beauty and perfection, will choose to cohabit with me as a husband, unless I refuse the condescension, and to abide with me as a comforter, unless I reject the offer, and obstinately deny to be comforted!

You are to bring yourself by such contemplation to this pitch, as to say most sincerely, what I believe you say constantly: Thy will be done, my God and Father! Though I could have been pleased to have enjoyed the harmless delights of this place in fellowship with the man thou gavest me, yet I am fully content, seeing it hath been thy pleasure, always directed with wisdom, and tempered with goodness, to demand him from me, to enjoy thee by communication with thee in my thoughts, and aspirations after thee in my desires. Seeing the one was thy will by thy dispensations to him, and the other was thy will in thy creating and redeeming me, this shall be my will too; and by this identity of will I will be united to thee, from whose love no tribulation nor distress can separate me; my own voluntary sins alone can divide me.

I beseech God to give a blessing to these hasty prescriptions (for the carrying away of which to the post the messenger stays) that they may conduce to the doing you that good they are designed for.

I am abruptly but yet inviolably,

Madam,

Your honour's entirely devoted servant,

J. FITZWILLIAM.

Cotenham, May 7, 1684.

DR. SIMON PATRICK TO LADY RUSSELL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LADYSHIP,

I RECEIVED your letter of the 11th instant, and give you my late but most humble thanks, for taking in so good part that poor tender of my duty and service, which in the sincerity of my heart I made to your Ladyship; and though I now find that there was no occasion at all for it, yet I cannot be sorry for my mistake, since I enjoy the benefit of it, in reading a letter which is so well stored with devout and heavenly thoughts.

I cannot read without rejoicing, your Ladyship's submission to the divine Providence, in resolving all to this—That whatever you find, will be best, and any thing you could imagine would have been worse; nor without begging of God, in the words of David, 1 Chron. xxix. 18, to keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of your heart. For, as your Ladyship cannot have a more honourable and worthy, and just opinion of God, than to believe that all He does is for the best, so neither can you entertain a thought which tends more to your own ease and satisfaction; for it is indeed the very secret of contentment. And sure there cannot be a more reasonable thing in the world, than to think well of what God does, and to allow him, who is the fountain of love and goodness, as well as of wisdom and understanding, to choose

better and wiselyer for us than we possibly can for ourselves. It is true that some particular providences look otherwise at first sight, and we cannot so readily explain, and make out the benefit and advantages of them. The man, who in riding to a port to take shipping and by a fall from his horse broke his leg, and thereby was stopped from his intended voyage, did not apprehend the mercy of that Providence at first, till he afterward understood that that very ship was cast away, and all the passengers in it. In like manner we are often puzzled in beholding the frame and structure of this visible world; for many things, which at the first appearance seem to be blemishes in the creation, yet, upon farther examination, we find to be so very useful and beneficial, that we are forced to bear testimony to that divine approbation, which once pronounced them to be all very good. And so I doubt not, but by a diligent examination, we may give ourselves a very good account of the ways, as well as of the works of God, and discover such advantages and gracious passages in every affliction, as may force us to acknowledge that we should not have been so well without those afflictions, and that He of very faithfulness has caused us to be troubled. And as such sensible and experimental acknowledgments must needs be acceptable to God, because thereby we honour Him, and speak well of Him of our own knowledge, so, on the other hand, it is impossible for our minds to dislike that, which we cannot but acknowledge to be best for us, even we ourselves being judges. Your Ladyship's pious determination not to part with the hope of a future state, if all the glorious offers of this present world were set against it, is according to all the rules of prudence, which even worldly men themselves think fit to practise in other matters: for who will sell the reversion of a great estate for a present penny? or who, on the other hand, will not disburse his ready money for some very gainful improvement of it hereafter? And yet there is some proportion in these things, for the most gainful improvement is but the same money multiplied over again, and the greatest estate is but a penny so many times told; whereas an eternal happiness, and this transitory world's false joys, hold no proportion.

I intend to read over the same authors which your Ladyship names, and if your Ladyship pleases to impart some of your thoughts upon any passages in them, I shall value them as misers are wont to do their treasure, who envy sight of it to all the world besides. Your Ladyship's discourse upon occasion of my Lady* Bedford's death I understand as an instance of your preparation of mind, and readiness to be dissolved, to be with Christ, which is certainly best for you whenever He pleases. But the continuance of your Ladyship's life and health, if God see it

* Anne Countess of Bedford, daughter of Robert Earl of Somerset, by Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, whom he married after she was divorced from the Earl of Essex. Francis Earl of Bedford, gave his son leave and liberty to choose in any family but that: King Charles I. sent the Duke of Lennox to move him to give way to it, and he was prevailed on to consent.—*Biog. Brit.*

good, is so absolutely necessary to the support of your noble family, that I hope they will be prolonged, and for the sake of your children ought not to be shortened, so much as by an otherwise innocent wish. My master's education particularly, does plainly depend on your Ladyship's care of yourself in the first place, and then of him, for whose health I the more earnestly pray, because, with grief, I lately heard that he was ill, but I hope it is over before this. I beg your Ladyship's pardon for this tedious length; and, therefore, as to the other parts of your letter, shall only crave leave to say, that your Ladyship ought to take comfort in the inward testimony of your sincerity, and not to be discouraged at any weaknesses that may possibly attend it, for that outweighs them all. I humbly beg your Ladyship to present my most humble service to my good Lord of Bedford, to whom I should have written upon this occasion, if I had understood that it had been proper for me, and that I should not rather have renewed his grief, and beseech you to accept of my hearty thankfulness for all your goodness towards me, who am,

Your Ladyship's
Most humble, most faithful,
And most obedient servant,
S. PATRICK.

May, 1684.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE received yours, good Doctor, writ on St. Barnabas's day, and must own, that although in those years my unprofitable life has been preserved, in this vain and wicked world, I have been made acquainted with many sad and mortifying events; yet, I am too sure that great work of real mortification to the over-much love to, and expectation from creatures, is so very imperfectly wrought in me to this day, that I ever need such instructions, as shall help to wean me from binding up my life and content in them, though in the best of creatures in their best estate: and very perverse it is in me towards my heavenly Father, if I do secretly repine at his dispensing to me, that which my corrupt nature makes so necessary for me; but it must be his free effectual grace that must perfect the work. He has called me to different encounters, and thereby invites me to stir up that grace He has put into my heart, and known to be so, by him, though not by myself, or I should not be so tried; that power who permits, if not appoints what I endure, having said, we shall not be tempted above what we are able to bear. He has been pitiful to my small grace, and removed a threatened blow, which must have quickened my sorrows, if not added to them, the loss of my poor boy. He has been ill, and God has let me see the folly of my imaginations, which made me apt to conclude I had nothing left, the deprivation of which could be matter of much anguish, or its possession, of any considerable refreshment. I have felt the falseness of the first notion, for I know not how to part, with tolerable ease, from the little creature. I desire to do so of the second, and that my thankfulness for the real blessing of these

children may refresh my labouring weary mind, with some joy and satisfaction, at least in my endeavours to do that part towards them, their most dear and tender father would not have omitted. And which, if successful, though early made unfortunate, may conduce to their happiness for the time to come here and hereafter. When I have done this piece of duty to my best friend and them, how gladly would I lie down by that beloved dust I lately went to visit (that is the case that holds it). It is a satisfaction to me you did not disprove of what I did in it, as some do that it seems have heard of it, though I never mentioned it to any besides yourself.

Doctor, I had considered, I went not to seek the living among the dead; I knew I should not see him any more wherever I went, and had made a covenant with myself, not to break out in unreasonable fruitless passion, but quicken my contemplation whither the nobler part was fled, to a country afar off, where no earthly power bears any sway, nor can put an end to a happy society; there I would willingly be, but we must not limit our time; I hope to wait without impatiency.

As to the information you require, it is not in my power to be punctual. I reckon my first and chief business is my attendance to these children, that is, their persons; and, till I see the boy in full strength, I dare not leave him, though but for one fortnight. I had fixed on the 20th of May, and from that time to this, good Lady Shaftsbury has been in a constant expectation to be summoned to meet me there, but Lady Bedford's death, and then the child, has kept me yet in this place. He has three teeth to cut, and till they be, I am apt to think, he will hardly recover full strength: they may do so in a week; it may be not in a month, as the wise folks say. This is the chief of my uncertainty; then indeed I depend on the conveniency (which I suit my journey to) of a gentleman, who has most kindly and helpfully assisted me, by following my business for me, and whom I have engaged (as finding it almost necessary) to my affairs, one Mr. Hoskins; I grew first acquainted with him at Lord Shaftsbury's, who used to call him cousin; he is a very worthy and ingenious man. Now he uses to drink Tunbridge waters, therefore I have sent to him if he chooses to do so, not to alter his course, for I can defer, as I have done, till he has performed it. So you see my uncertainties, but as soon as I am fixed you shall be sure to know it, as hastily as I can send the notice. Being more certain of the other proposition you offer me concerning a charity, what I will do in it, I answer to it more positively, Yes, I will, Sir.

If you hear how Watkins has provided for himself, you will be satisfied I have not been injurious to him at all; I am within a few days made acquainted he goes to Lord Campden. He has given me notice a good while, that at Midsummer, I should be provided, but really I did not guess where; he did not want my assistance to recommend him, and it seems Lord Campden was disposed it should be a secret, and so it was to me. I take it not ill from him, because I suppose he is not acquainted with the usual way of respectful proceeding in such cases. I wish, if he means

to govern himself in so close a way, that he does no worse in greater matters, for I believe he will be an honest servant.

I have made this letter so long it is high time to break off, but first I must recommend my wants to your retirements, more than ordinary at the return of that time of year my miserable days had a beginning; which, though I suffer to slide away as easily as I can, yet I mistrust I shall not be able to pass, without reflecting what my dismal employment on them was.

I am, good Doctor,
With great truth, though great mournfulness,
Your faithful friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, June, 1684.

Lady Northampton writes me word she is going to Chilten; it seems they have left Titchfield with my Lady Gainsborough's great good-will. She must have great skill to make Chilten hold them all.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THE last letter I writ to you, good Doctor, was upon the 21st July; and I find yours dated the 25th; so I conclude you had not read mine. If you have not, yours is the kinder, since I find you had entertained a memory of that return of time my sufferings in this sad and dismal year began; and which indeed I could not pass but with some more than usual solemnity; yet I hope I took the best arts I could to convert my anguish into advantages, and force away from my thoughts those terrible representations they would raise (at such time especially) upon me; but I was so large in my discourse then, that it being possible it may have lighted into your hands before this does, I will not be ever repeating either my own sad story, or my own weak behaviour under it; but rather speak to the question you would be answered in, when I design for Straton, or whether not at all? Truly, I cannot tell you which; since I move but as I am convinced is best in reference to my boy, at present with the care of his sister, the only worldly business I have in this perishing world.* You hear I am at Totteridge, and why I came thither, and soon will know I wanted the auxiliaries you took care to send me: sure I did so; but it hath pleased the Author of all Mercies to give me some glimpse and ray of his compassions in this dark day of my calamity, the child being exceedingly better; and I trust no secret murmur or discontent at what I have felt, and must still do, shall provoke my God to repeat those threatenings of making yet more bitter that cup I have drank so deeply out of; but as a quiet submission is required under all the various methods of Divine Providence, I trust I shall be so supported, that though unfit thoughts may haunt me, they shall not break in importunately upon me, nor will I break off that bandage time will lay over my wound. To them that seek the Lord, his

* Lady Russell's children were Wriothesley, Rachel, and Catherine.

mercies are renewed every morning: with all my strength to him I will seek; and though he kill me I will trust in him; my hopes are not of this world; I can never more recover pleasure here; but more durable joys I shall obtain, if I persevere to the end of a short life.

I do congratulate your expectations, they being sure well grounded; but I wonder a little you should hesitate whether or no to be hovering thereabouts till the issue is ascertained. If you do not, I hope you will not baulk Totteridge if I am here, which I do not intend a day longer than the Doctor thinks it best. He is not averse to giving him a taste of Straton air; but it was only touched upon the last day of his being here; it is so much farther from the Doctor, and the court will so quickly go to Winchester, (when I am sure you will not think it fit I should be there) that I think it more likely I shall let it alone. If I go at all, it must be suddenly; when I see the Doctor next, I will resolve; and wherever I am, and in all conditions, sincerely continue,

Good Doctor,
Your affectionate friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

8 August, 1684.

I conclude the good Bishop is well, because you say nothing to the contrary. I am glad of it.

DR. FITZWILLIAM TO LADY RUSSELL.

RETURNING homewards on the 19th through St. Albans, I apprehended myself to be more happy than I could imagine I should be, i. e. I was entertained for a minute or two with an opinion, that you were passed by to Totteridge, and that you would return thither that afternoon; but it was but like the delusion of a dream, for I soon found the error, which for the pleasure it afforded me in hopes of seeing you there, I could have wished had not been so soon corrected. Missing that contentment, I should have passed on to have found it at Woborne, had not there been almost a necessity of my being at Cotenham the next day, which I thought I could not so easily reach thence.

At my arrival here, I found a letter had been lodged for me, wrote by your Ladyship on that day from which you date the beginning of your sorrows, and reckon a new epocha of a sad miserable life. I agree with you, as you judge according to the sight of your eyes, and consulting nature, that it was so, because it deprived you of the enjoyment of him whom you prized above, and in whose fellowship you tasted a sweet beyond what any sublunary things, or all them together could yield you. But then if you will estimate that day as a Christian, whose life here is by faith, and who looks for a life of glory, I may venture to say you cannot but esteem it as a happy day, even to yourself, while depriving you of the greatest worldly comfort, it gave the occasion to you of abstracting your heart from the world, whose fashion passeth away; or weaning your affections from things below, and of attracting the one and raising the other to the place where they ought to be; in short, of bringing you nearer

towards your God, and uniting you more closely to him, (the very contemplation of whom affords transcendently all the delight it was possible for you to relish in a husband, and how much infinitely more will the vision and fruition of him exceed them!) This you would have otherwise been without that day's providential dispensation. A sore one indeed, and such as I could wish its sense were to be mitigated in you, by my own sharing in part of your grief; but, may be, no less mild a method was necessary for the work; and there is no doubt but the great Physician of souls saw that so rough a medicine was necessary for the cure of that common infirmity in you, or else he had never given you so bitter a potion to have drank.

I could be large in this argument, having matter more than would swell several letters; but I forbear using it for its copiousness, and because I reserve it for what I promised, a little treatise for your benefit, could I find leisure to dispose and order it, as it ought to be, into several topics, before it can be fit to be presented to you: and besides it will be more agreeable to your inclinations, as well as my function, that I should pray that God would not only comfort you, but illuminate you, give you that discerning eye, whereby you may see that it hath been good for you even to have been thus severely afflicted, and that he hath been gracious in thus sharply dealing with you.

I understand by this your concurrence, which you signified too before with the request I made for the employment of some part of your charity towards the assisting in the instruction of some poor children in my parish, and your pleasure that I should assign the place where it should be paid. For which, as I return you all thanks, so I shall pray that the dispensing it may be a laying up for yourself a treasure in heaven. And since your honour hath not been pleased to name the sum, I shall be so confident as to determine that it shall not exceed 20*s.* per quarter, because I know you have many channels to derive that part of your substance you set aside for such ends; and will desire, when you think fit to do any for this particular, you will order the agent you employ to pay it into Mr. Sim. Miller, bookseller, at the Star at the West end of St. Paul's church-yard, near Ludgate. I beseech Almighty God, who hath overcast all your earthly content with so black a cloud as you seem to say, to lift up the light of his countenance, and cause his face to shine upon you, and to support you with his everlasting favour, and to bless you here, if it seem good to his wisdom, by continuing to you the temporal blessings he yet indulgeth you; and thus praying, am,

Madam, your honour's most humbly,
And compassionately devoted servant,
J. FITZWILLIAM.

Cotenham, 13 Aug. 1664.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

AT my return from Totteridge, I did resolve one of my first exercises of this nature should be to you; why it was

not so, Mr. Taylor might have told you; I desired he would: it was his coming to you: and I judged the entertainment of him would be a better diversion to you, than a letter from me; so I deferred it till his return. Whether the report you had, just at parting from him, of the good Bishop of Winchester's* probably hastening to the end of his race, which, without doubt, he will finish with joy, has called you sooner from your habitation than you meant, I know not: it may make this matter the shorter, but not prevent my best thanks offered for your visits of the 13th August, and for any thing I remember, the 3rd also; but if the last was acknowledged before, I am in no error to do it twice; yours all merit, every one of them, the acknowledgment of my whole life. As they help to slide comfortably away sad hours, so I persuade myself the consequence will be profitable through my whole life, how long soever the Disposer of all things permits it to last; that it will have an end, every day presents us a convincing argument, by the death of some acquaintance very often, if not a friend: then what the raging war devoure is matter of deep meditation, and more amazing than I will discourse of in this paper. But to me death hath come so near as to fetch a portion from my very heart, and by it calls on me to prepare against the second death, from which, by the merits of a great and merciful Redeemer, I hope my best friend is delivered; and having a reasonable ground for this hope, it is unaccountable why I must ever lament what I valued as my own soul, is past all the difficulties of this narrow passage.

I find you have submitted to great mourning for the deprivation of a very dear friend, though you are more a conqueror than I, in the lifting yourself out of such depressions as my weak nature has suffered itself to be plunged into; but we are not all made to be strong alike, and I one of the meanest of God's creatures every way; yet it is his good pleasure I should be singled out in a calamity. All I have to do is to suffer his good and holy will, and I shall be exalted in due time, though not as Job, yet with divine comfort here, and joy hereafter. 'Tis so grateful to my afflicted mind to run on thus, where I am free, that I doubt I give you true cause to wish I would use you less like a friend. I am sure I intended nothing like this when I took my pen to write, but in a short letter to acquaint you with what I have not yet touch'd on—my resolve to try that desolate habitation of mine at London this winter. The doctor agrees it is the best place for my boy, and I have no argument to balance that, nor could take the resolution to see London till that was urged; but by God's permission I will try how I can endure that place, in thought a place of terror to me: but I know if sorrow had not another root, that will vanish in a few days. Now, Doctor, as soon as I had formed, or rather submitted to this advice, which was but just as I left Totteridge, (for I hastened hither upon it, that Lord

* Morley, Bishop of Winchester, died 1684. A very eminent man, zealous against popery, with a considerable share of learning, and great vivacity of thought. *Burnet.*

Bedford might have some weeks of comfort in the child before I took him from him) I took into my thought how the chapel should be supplied—so short a warning as I had given myself could never secure my being supplied as I desire; and I considered one of your order is not to be used as other domestics, so that if unhappily I should have entertained one not agreeable to me, it would have been hard to have relieved myself; so I lighted on this expedient:—To invite an old acquaintance of yours to pass this winter with me, and if her husband, Mr. Hanbury, could dispense for some weeks with officiating himself at Botley, I would be willing he should supply my chapel; being at present unprovided; so I give myself this approaching winter to fix. I am sure he is conforming enough, and 'twill not be difficult to any if willing, to act that prudent part I formerly hinted, and at which you seemed almost to have some objections against; but I leave that for a discourse. I do not purpose a removal till the end of this month, if the child continues so very well as he is, and the weather be tolerable. My Lord Gainsborough and my Lady, have invited themselves to great honours from the court. My Lady writes me word, the charge seems to fright my Lord (at present) against another year. I admire her conduct to manage all that company at Chilten. I hear my Lady Digby* is safely laid of a girl; the sex can be no disappointment to them, likely to have so many. I hope they are a very happy couple; then, I believe she does not regret the opportunity of being made a courtier.

The constant uneasy hurry I was in at Totteridge (which a little matter is cause of to so broken a mind as mine) made me forget to send the money for your poor children as I appointed; and since 'tis so, unless you order other, I will now delay the doing it till we meet, or I hear you are at London. In all places I am, good Doctor,

Your assured friend to serve you
Under all my sadness,
R. RUSSELL.

1 Oct. 1684.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE very lately received one of yours from London and had one also from Cotenham since I wrote; but I had measured your time to be at London so near, that I would not send a sad dull paper to wander up and down, as some did when you was at Farnham with the good Bishop, whose present state you do in such a manner describe, as makes me feel at the reading (though 'tis not the first time neither) a lightsomeness I am not used to, and by a kind of reflect-act make it my own in prospect. The consideration of the other world is not only a very great, but (in my small judgment) the only support under the greatest of afflictions that can befal us here; the enlivening heat of those glories are sufficient to animate and refresh

* Frances, eldest daughter of Edward Noel, Earl of Gainsborough, married to Simon Lord Digby.

us in our dark passage through this world; and though I am below the meanest of God's servants that have not in the least degree lived answerable to those opportunities I have had, yet my Mediator is my judge, and he will not despise weak beginnings, though there be more smoke than flame. He will help us in believing; and though he suffers us to be cast down, will not cast those off who commit their cause to him.

I have, you find, Sir, lingered out my time here; and I think none will wonder at it, that will reflect the place I am going to remove to was the scene of so much lasting sorrow to me, and where I acted so unsuccessful a part for the preservation of a life, I could sure have laid down mine to have had continued. 'Twas, Doctor, an inestimable treasure I did lose, and with whom I had lived in the highest pitch of this world's felicity. But I must remember I have a better friend, a more abiding, whom I desire with an enflamed heart to know, not alone as good in a way of profit, but amiable in a way of excellency; then, spiritual joy will grapple with earthly griefs, and so far overcome as to give some tranquillity to a mind so tossed to and fro, as mine has been with the evils of this life; yet I have but the experience of short moments of this desirable temper, and fear to have fewer when I first come to that desolate habitation and place, where so many several passions will assault me; but having so many months mourned the substance, I think (by God's assistance) the shadows will not sink me. To one so lately arrived at London, and engaged, as I know you to be, I am too tedious, for one who desires always to approve herself, good Doctor, Your faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, 17 Nov. 1684.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOU pursue, good Doctor, all ways of promoting comfort to my afflicted mind, and will encourage me to think the better of myself, for that better temper of mind you judge you found me in, when you so kindly gave me a week of your time in London. You are highly in the right, that as quick a sense as sharpness on the one hand, and tenderness on the other, can cause, I labour under, and shall, I believe, to the end of my life, so eminently unfortunate in the close of it.

But I strive to reflect how large my portion of good things has been, and though they are passed away no more to return; yet I have a pleasant work to do, dress up my soul for my desired change, and fit it for the converse of angels and the spirits of just men made perfect; amongst whom my hope is my loved Lord is one; and my often repeated prayer to my God is, that if I have a reasonable ground for that hope, it may give a refreshment to my poor soul.

Do not press yourself, Sir, too greatly in seeking my advantage, but when your papers do come, I expect and hope they will prove such. The accidents of every day tell us of what a tottering clay our bodies are made.

Youth nor beauty, greatness nor wealth, can prop it up. If it could, the Lady Ossory had not so early left this world; she died (as an express acquainted her father this morning) on Sunday last, of a flux and miscarrying. I heard also this day of a kinsman that is gone: a few years ago I should have had a more concerned sense for Sir Thomas Vernon;* his unfitness (as I doubt) I do lament indeed.

Thus I treat you, as I am myself, with objects of mortification; but you want none such in your solitude, and I being unprovided of other, will leave you to your own thoughts, and ever continue,

Sir, your obliged servant,
R. RUSSELL.

31 Jan. 1684-5.

My neighbours and tenants are under some distress, being questioned about accounts, and several leaves found torn out of the books, so that Kingdome and Trent offered 40,000l. for atonement; but having confessed two more were privy to this cutting out leaves, the King will have them discovered. Till Monday they have time given them. You had given Lady Julian one of those books.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I RECEIVED your letter and papers inclosed, and I desire, good Doctor, you would receive my thanks for both, in particular that part concerns my immediate wants; and for the other you would give me the first sight of, and then the office of delivering it to others; which I did faithfully as you directed, and could not but receive an equal approbation. As you are kind in believing what thoughts I had entertained of you, so I assure you, you are just just in it. And I wish from my soul I may keep as steadfast to the truth, as I believe you intend to do: and as I doubt not that your strength will fail, so pray mine may be as firm under all trials our heavenly Father may permit us to fall, but not sink under I trust. Man passeth away but the truth of God endureth for ever. The saddest state to a good soul will one day end in rest. This is my best comfort, and a greater we cannot have, yet the degree is raised, when we consider we shall not only rest, but live in regions of unspeakable bliss. This should lead

* Sir Thomas Vernon, on the jury against Sir Samuel Barnardiston, knighted for his service in it, and then made foreman to convict Oates of perjury. Sir Samuel Barnardiston, 14 Feb. 1683-4, was fined 10,000l. for writing some letters, in which he used these expressions (*inter alia*). 'The Lord Howard appears despicable in the eyes of all men—the brave Lord Russell is a-fresh lamented—it is generally said the Earl of Essex was murdered—the plot is lost here—the Duke of Monmouth said publicly, that he knew my Lord Russell was as loyal a subject as any in England, and that his Majesty believed the same now—the printer of the late Lord Russell's speech was passed over with silence—the sham protestant plot is quite lost and confounded, &c.' He was committed for his fine to the King's Bench, continued prisoner four or five years, and great waste and destruction made on his estate.—*Display of Tyranny.*

will do well. I should now hasten to give them the advantage of the country air, but am detained by the warning to see my uncle Rouvigny here, who comes to me; so I know not how to quit my house till I have received him, at least into it; he is upon his journey.

My Lady Gainsborough came to this town last night, and I doubt found neither her own daughter nor Lady Jane in a good condition of health. I had carried a surgeon on the day before to let my niece blood, by Dr. Loure's direction, who could not attend, by reason my Lord Radnor lay in extremity, and he was last night past hopes. My niece's complaint is a neglected cold, and he fears her to be something hectic, but I hope youth will struggle and overcome; they are children whose least concerns touch me to the quick; their mother was a delicious friend; sure nobody has enjoyed more pleasure in the conversations and tender kindnesses of a husband and a sister than myself, yet how apt am I to be fretful that I must not still do so! but I must follow that which seems to be the will of God, how unacceptable soever it may be to me. I must stop, for if I let my pen run on I know not where it will end. I am, good Doctor,

With great faithfulness,

Your affectionate friend to serve you.

R. RUSSELL.

Southampton-house, 17 July, 1685.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOU cannot make so great a mistake, good Doctor, I know, as not to be assured I accept most kindly every method you take for the disposing my sad heart to be submissively content with my portion here; and then to revive it to some thankful temper by various reflections. I do not resist so foolishly as to say they are not proper ones; I can discern so justly as to know you do not err, Doctor, in the manner of magnifying your charitable respect, nor in the design nor prosecution of it; the virtue you chiefly recommend to practice is so beautifully set forth, 'tis as a burning shining light, and one is willing to live with that light. But my languishing weary spirit rises up slowly to all good; yet I hope by God's abundant grace, in time, your labours will work the same effect in my spirit; they will indeed in less time on others better disposed and prepared than I am, who in the day of affliction seem to have no remembrance, with due thankfulness of prosperity. Your papers sure, Sir, are rarely fitted for the use of all struggling under the burden of sin or sorrow, though by a singular and particular charity composed for my lamentable calamity, and as seasonably is this new supply come as is possible, for its first perusal by me. Since I unsealed your packet this very morning, the 21st July, a day of bitterness indeed; I seasoned the first minutes of retirement, I allotted on this day for prayer and mourning, with reading them, and made a stop for some time on those lines—'We may securely depend on the truth of God's promises, to this

purpose, that a seed time of tears shall be followed by a plenteous harvest of joys.' It is a sound I must hereafter be a stranger to, in my pilgrimage here, but that it shall one day belong to me is a contemplation of great comfort, and I bless God it is so; I must not in lowliness of mind deny the grace I sometimes feel, though faint, are my best thoughts and performances, as I am sensible.

So willing I am to hearken to arguments of consolation, and so convinced that your's are strong, that though the phrase seemed odd I read in your letter, that you would try to draw comfort to me from the cause of my sorrow, and administer it from the very calamity I feel; yet I did with much eagerness read on, and must acquiesce in much of it with you. You imagine that these late confusions have afforded matter of tumultuous devouring thoughts, and though not so well digested as they are in your letter, yet every clause in it I have tossed up and down.

And now, Doctor, I take this late wild attempt* to be a new project, not depending on, or being linked in the least to any former design, if there was then any real one, which I am satisfied was not no more than (my own Lord confessed) talk. And it is possible that talk going so far as to consider, if a remedy to supposed evils might be sought, how it could be found? but as I was saying, if all this late attempt was entirely new, yet the suspicion my Lord must have lain under would have been great; and some other circumstances I do confess must have made his part a hard one. So that from the deceitfulness of the heart, or want of true sight in the directive faculty, what would have followed God only knows. From the frailty of the will I should have feared but little evil; for he had so just a soul, so firm, so good, he could not warp from such principles that were so, unless misguided by his understanding, and that his own, not another's; for I dare say, as he could discern, he never went into any thing considerable, upon the mere submission to any one's particular judgment. Now his own, I know, he could never have framed to have thought well of the late actings, and therefore most pro-

* Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. He was son to King Charles II. by Lucy Barlow, alias Walters. In his declaration against King James II. among other things, he accuses him of the barbarous murder of Arthur Earl of Essex in the tower, and of several others to conceal it; of the most unjust condemnation of William Lord Russell and Colonel Algernon Sidney, being only accused for meeting in discharge of their duty to God and their country, to consult of extraordinary yet lawful means, to rescue our religion and liberties from the bands of violence, when all ordinary means according to the laws were denied and obstructed.—Concluding, 'And we do appeal unto the great God concerning the Justice of our cause, and implore his aid and assistance, that he would enable us to go forth in his name, and to do valiantly against his and our enemies, for he it is that knows we have not chosen to engage in arms for private and corrupt ends or designs, but out of a deep sense of our duty. We therefore commit our cause unto him, who is the God of hosts and the God of battles.' He was taken, tried, and on the 15th July, 1685, beheaded.—*Ralph.* His children were named Scott, he having married Lady Ann Scott, daughter of Francis Earl of Buccleugh.

bably must have sat loose from them. But I am afraid his excellent heart, had he lived, would have been often pierced from the time his life was taken away to this. On the other hand, having, I trust, a reasonable ground of hope, he has found those mercies, he died with a cheerful persuasion he should, there is no reason to mourn my loss, when that soul I loved so well, lives in felicities, and shall do so to all eternity. This I know in reason should be my cure; but flesh and blood in this mixed state is such a slave to sense, the memory how I have lived, and how (as I think) I must ever do for the time to come, does so prevail and weaken my most Christian resolves, that I cannot act the part, that mere philosophy, as you set down many instances, enabled many to an appearance of easiness, for I verily believe they had no more than me, but vainly affected it. As I began the day with your letter and the sheets of discourse both inclosed in one paper, so I conclude it with some prayers you formerly assisted me with. Thus, Doctor, you see you have a special right to those prayers you are pleased I should present for the same effect on your spirit, if a portion of suffering should be your lot, as you now wish on mine, which, after my poor fashion, I will not be wanting in, that am, Sir,

Your obliged faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Southampton-house, 21 July, 1685.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

NOW I know where to find you, good Doctor, (which I do by your letter writ at my cousin Spencer's) you must be sure to hear from her who is still not ashamed to be on the receiving hand with you. God has given you the abilities, and opportunity for it, and not to me; and what am I, that I should say, Why is it not otherwise?—No, I do not, nor do I grudge or envy you the pious and ingenious pleasure you have in it; my part in this world is of another nature, and I thank you, Sir, (but God must give you the recompense) you instruct me admirably how to overcome, that I may once make application of the text, Revel. iii. 12. and raise such hopes as cannot miscarry. The great thing is to acquiesce with all one's heart to the good pleasure of God, who will prove us by the ways and dispensations He sees best, and when He will break us to pieces we must be broken. Who can tell his works from the beginning to the end? But who can praise his mercies more than wretched I, that He has not cut me off in anger, who have taken his chastisements so heavily, not weighing his mercies in the midst of judgments! The stroke was of the fiercest sure; but had I not then a reasonable ground to hope, that what I loved as I did my own soul, was raised from a prison to a throne? Was I not enabled to shut up my own sorrows, that I increased not his sufferings by seeing mine? How were my sinking spirits supported by the early compassions of excellent and wise Christians, without ceasing, admonishing me of my duty, instructing, reproving, comforting me! You, know, Doctor, I was not

destitute; and I must acknowledge that many others like yourself, with devout zeal, and great charity, contributed to the gathering together my scattered spirits, and then subjecting them by reason to such a submission as I could obtain under so astonishing a calamity: and, farther, he has spared me hitherto the children of so excellent a friend, giving them hopeful understandings, and yet very tractable and sweet dispositions; spared my life in usefulness I trust to them; and being I am to linger in a world I can no more delight in, has given me a freedom from bodily pain to a degree I almost never knew, not so much as a strong fit of the head-ach have I felt since that miserable time, who used to be tormented with it very frequently. This calls for praises my dead heart is not exercised in, but I hope this is my infirmity; I bewail it. He that took our nature, and felt our infirmities, knows the weakness of my person, and the sharpness of my sorrows.

I should not forget to mention, Sir, I did receive your papers and a letter I never had the opportunity to tell you of, dated 13 August; and another letter after that, where you write of your being in London within a fortnight; so that time slipping, I know not where to find you, nor how I came to let time do so.

I know not if you have heard some unwished-for accidents in my family have hurried me into new disorders. A young lady my uncle Rouvigny brought with him falling ill of the small-pox, I first removed my children to Bedford-house, then followed myself, for the quieting of my good uncle's mind, who would have it so; from thence I brought my little tribe down to Woborne, and when I heard how fatal the end was of the young lady's distemper, I returned myself to Bedford-house to take my last leave (for so I take it to be) of as kind a relation, and as zealous tender a friend as ever any body had. To my uncle and aunt their niece was an inexpressible loss, but to herself death was the contrary. She died (as most do) as she lived, a pattern to all who knew her. As her body grew weak, her faith and hope grew strong, comforting her comforters, and edifying all about her; ever magnifying the goodness of God, that she died in a country, where she could in peace give up her soul to him that made it. What a glorious thing, Doctor, it is to live and die as sure as she did! I heard my uncle and aunt say, that in seven years she had been with them, they never could tax her with a failure in her piety or worldly prudence, yet she had been roughly attacked, as the French Gazettes will tell you, if you have leisure to look over them now they are so many; however I keep them together, and so send them to you, who shall ever be gratified in what you ask from me, as a recompense of all your labours: it is a poor one indeed, the weak unworthy prayers of

Your very much obliged servant,
R. Russell.

Woborne Abbey, 11 Oct. 1685.

You say I may direct as I will about those papers now in my custody. I freely give my judgment, it is great pity they should be hid like a candle under a bushel; as they

are piously designed, they will carry the more effectual blessing with them into the hearts of such in whose hands they fall; and as I believe it is an excellent discourse, why should it not serve to excellent purposes? I could say more of my opinion concerning them, but truly methinks it is taking too much upon me; my modesty interposes.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

As you profess, good Doctor, to take pleasure in your writings to me, from the testimony of a conscience, to forward my spiritual welfare, so do I to receive them as one to me of your friendship in both worldly and spiritual concernments: doing so, I need not waste my time nor yours to tell you they are very valuable to me. That you are so contented to read mine, I make the just allowance for; not for the worthiness of them, I know it cannot be, but however, it enables me to keep up an advantageous conversation without scruple of being too troublesome. You say some things sometimes, by which I should think you seasoned, or rather tainted with being so much where compliment or praising is best learned; but I conclude, that often, what one heartily wishes to be in a friend, one is apt to believe is so. The effect is not nought towards me, whom it animates to have a true not false title to the least virtue you are disposed to attribute to me. Yet I am far from such a vigour of mind as surmounts the secret discontent so hard a destiny as mine has fixed in my breast; but there are times the mind can hardly feel displeasure, as while such friendly conversation entertaineth it; then a grateful sense moves one to express the courtesy.

If I could contemplate the conducts of Providences with the uses you do, it would give ease indeed, and no disastrous events should much affect us. The new scenes of each day make me often conclude myself very void of temper and reason, that I still shed tears of sorrow, and not of joy, that so good a man is landed safe on the happy shore of a blessed eternity; doubtless he is at rest, though I find none without him, so true a partner he was in all my joys and griefs; I trust the Almighty will pass by this my infirmity; I speak it in respect to the world, from whose enticing delights I can now be better weaned. I was too rich in possessions whilst I possessed him; all relish now is gone, I bless God for it, and pray and ask of all good people (do it for me from such you know are so), also to pray that I may more and more turn the stream of my affections upwards, and set my heart upon the ever satisfying perfections of God; not starting at his darkest providences, but remembering continually either his glory, justice, or power, is advanced by every one of them, and that mercy is over all his works, as we shall one day with ravishing delight see. In the mean time, I endeavour to suppress all wild imaginations a melancholy fancy is apt to let in; and say with the man in the Gospel, 'I believe, help thou my unbelief.'

If any thing I say suggest to you matter for a pious reflection, I have not hurt you but ease myself, by letting

loose some of my crowded thoughts. I must not finish without telling you, I have not the book you mention of Seraphical Meditations of the Bishop of B. and Wells,* and should willingly see one here, since you design the present. I have sent you the last sheet of your papers, as the surest course; you can return it with the book. You would, Sir, have been welcome to Ld. Bedford, who expresses himself hugely obliged to the Bishop of Ely† your friend; to whom you justly give the title of good, if the character he has very generally, belongs to him. And who is good is happy; for he is only truly miserable or wretchedly so, that has no joy here, nor hopes for any hereafter. I believe it may be near Christmas before my Lord Bedford removes for the winter, but I have not yet discoursed him about it, nor how long he desires our company; so whether I will come before him, or make one company, I know not; he shall please himself, for I have no will in these matters, nor can like one thing or way better than another, if the use and conveniences be alike to the young creatures, whose service is all the business I have in this world, and for their good I intend all diligence in the power of, Sir,

Your obliged friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, 27 Nov. 1685.

I am mightily in arrear; pray let me know what, and if I shall direct the paying it, or stay till I see you.

DR. FITZWILLIAM TO LADY RUSSELL.

IN my opinion it is a long time that I have interrupted that commerce with which you have been pleased to honour me on your part, by my omitting to make the due acknowledgments I ought for the packet of foreign letters, and your own letter more valuable than all the intelligence they contained; though that was, and must be esteemed of great worth to all who have the least honour for the Christian name, and ought to be prized and rated yet higher by me, who do not wear that name only, but have an extraordinary character from him by whose name we are called; since it was composed of the successes of the Christian arms against the infidels and enemies of our faith.‡ And therefore I the greedier snatch at this opportunity, the first (except that of Thursday's post, of which too the intervention of company deprived me) which I have had through some employment on my hands these two weeks last, to renew it again.

I am glad to find by the vigour with which that was wrote, and the constancy of mind you took your leave of

* Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, of an ascetic course of life, and yet of a very lively temper.

† Turner, Bishop of Ely, sincere and good-natured, of too quick imagination, and too defective a judgment.—*Burnet.*

‡ The battle of Gran, 16 Aug. when the Duke of Lorrain, and the Elector of Bavaria, beat the Turks, and soon after took Newhausel, &c.

your most tender uncle, and bid a final adieu to him, that you have less need of the cordials of my prescribing to fortify you than formerly. I hope the considerations I have offered, assisted with God's grace to impress them on your heart, will have that operation on you, that you will be able entirely to resign and sacrifice your own will, desires, and all that you have, to his wise disposal, and can be content he should govern the world without you, and you, as a part of the great one, according to his own good pleasure.

To this end you must labour to mortify all those regrets you have upon reflecting on your past condition, and comparing it with your present. The comparing them in your mind may not be useful to you, because apt to create disturbance; but, however the judgment you pronounce upon such a review may be erroneous, you may be more happy now than you were when you thought yourself most so, and in a fairer and more probable way to attain to that happiness, which is not to be lost but by your own fault and neglect, nor ravished from you by the injury or violence of another. But, if your active mind is for vying things with things, I would direct your honour to look, as I know you do, with eyes of compassion on the afflicted state of those poor people in the neighbouring country, where the husband is divided from his tender wife, the parents from their dear children, and are neither permitted to live, nor yet allowed the favour to die; and then to turn your eyes upon yourself, enjoying, as you confess, your own health and strength in a greater measure than formerly, hopeful children, an affluence of temporal things, and numbers of friends, it may be more than the darlings and favourites of Providence, as it is here dispensed, do; and then recollect with yourself, and try if you can truly and safely pronounce of yourself, that you are miserable.

And if you cannot truly form such a judgment, I know your Ladyship will be so sincere and generous as not to complain you are so to your friends, or bemoan yourself with yourself as such. I will not enlarge upon this topic as I might; for in good earnest no person is miserable but comparatively, and almost every man in some respect or other comparatively happy; but shall reserve what can be more said, though it may not be upon this argument, to be handled in the pursuance of that discourse, of which you have already the bigger part in your hands.—What remains I will endeavour to finish as fast as my little affairs here will give me leave; and I hope I shall be able to transmit some more papers relating to it within three or four more posts.

In the interval, and in all times, and in all events, I resolve to continue,

Madam,

Your honour's most obedient

And devoted humble servant.

J. FITZWILLIAM.

From Mr. Tufton's, St. James's, 27 Nov. 1665.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THOUGH I never think the returns come too thick, by which I have the advantage of conversing with Doctor Fitzwilliam, yet I am not captious in the matter, and would always have these favours suit your leisure, Sir, which in so busy a life cannot always be regular.

I had not stayed supplying you with new French papers, but that I was doubtful how the last got to you; I hasten these whilst you are in London, for now your engagements lie in so many places, one knows not where to find you; but still it is in employments of the noblest sort, doing the work of God; and man being a sociable creature, and of such a composition, that the mind must be acting, how happy is it when all this is done conformable to duty, and serving to the best ends, the salvation of men's souls? 'Tis having chosen the better part; and carries with it (I make no doubt) peacefulness of mind which excels the strongest delights of earthly enjoyments, where that is shut out, or rather not so fully enjoyed; for if we weigh temporal against spirituals, how light would that scale be to the smallest grain of spiritual comfort, though it were heaped with all the glories, fame, and wealth, the most carnal heart can wish for! The one satisfies the immortal part of a man; the other satisfies the depraved appetite. As buried as I am in earth myself, and ever mourning the loss of an earthly felicity, which if through weakness it exceeds I do bewail; yet I reckon the sufferings for the name of Christ (if to have that honour be my lot) and the obtaining a title to an eternal inheritance in the place described, Revel. ch. xxi. and xxii. to be infinitely above our sufferings in these houses of clay; what I grieve the want of was such an one when here, but now glorified with the spirits of just men made perfect.

Doctor, I will take your advice, and vie my state with others, and begin with him in the highest prosperity, as himself thinks, the King of a miserable people; but truly the most miserable himself, by debasing, as he does, the dignity of human nature; and though for secret ends of Providence, he is suffered to make those poor creatures drink deep of a most bitter cup, yet the dregs are surely reserved for himself. What a judgment is it upon an aspiring mind, when perhaps half the world knows not God nor confesses the name of Christ as a Saviour, nor the beauty of virtue, which almost all the world has in derision, that it should not excite him to a reformation of faith and manners; but with such a rage turn his power to extirpate a people that own the Gospel for their law and rule! How infamous to his fame is the one! How glorious to his memory would the other have been! But he is too wicked to be an instrument of so much good to his degenerate age. Now, Sir, I cannot choose but think myself less miserable than this poor King. For the vast numbers of sufferers,* the sound thereof is more terrible

* The Edict of Nantes, made 1598, in favour of the Protestants in France, and confirmed 1622, was unjustly revoked 22 Oct. 1685, and the Hugonots cruelly persecuted. The liber-

to those at a distance than the calamity of a single person; but taken asunder, the sufferings of any one, and those I have and do feel, are not perhaps at so wide a distance as it appears, theirs being heaped together; but as you very well note, there is no state to be pronounced extremely miserable, but a state of sin, which will deprive us of a future state of glory, without a deep repentance, which I wish to all sinners. I hear our King has given leave for collection for those Protestants which have been drove hither. God make his people thankful for it.

My Lord Gainsborough and all that family, sent in here as they went by to Dunstable, last week.

I know you will use your power, and I wish you could prevail with my nephew to settle himself in a family of his own. I trust God will be gracious to the child of so good a mother, and incline him to what shall be in the end best for him.

Though I am in the country, I should call to memory you are in London. I do so, and therefore close this from, Sir, your obliged

And affectionate servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, Nov. 1685.

The papers are swelled to a great bigness, but if you care for them in London, I will direct them weekly, though I may not happen to write; for sometimes indeed I have occasion to do so too much, for so heavy a mind as mine is. 'Tis my present case this morning.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

WHEN I tell you, Doctor, this is the seventh letter dispatched for this morning, any one of which could not be omitted, and that I have still before noon French dispatches to make, you will not, though I write but a few lines, believe I willingly decline the writing more. Letters of compliment I would lay aside for it, I assure you,

ties of the Protestants in France were founded upon solemn laws, upon perpetual, irrevocable, and sacred edicts, and which could not be recalled without violating at once the public faith, the royal word, and sacredness of an oath. 'How often did our King, Lewis XIV. promise us to preserve us in our privileges? How many declarations, how many edicts did he set out to that purpose? How many oaths were taken to confirm those edicts! Did not this very King himself solemnly promise, by several edicts and declarations, to maintain us in all the liberties which were granted us by the Edict of Nantes! And yet after all, what scruple was there made to violate so many laws, so many promises, and so many oaths!'—*Letter from French Refugees in Germany*, 1687, *on King James II. Declaration.* Burnet says, 'We see what feeble things edicts, coronation oaths, laws, and promises repeated over and over again, proved to be where the Romish religion prevails; the Great Lewis gave his Protestant subjects assurances of his observing still the Edict of Nantes, even after he had resolved to break it; and a promise in the edict that repealed it, that no violence should be used to any for their religion, in the very time that he was ordering all possible violence to be put in execution against them.'

if I had more time. Yes, doctor, the liberty I take when I write to you, gratifies much more my weary mind, than the matter one fills up paper with to others; yet something of that sort must be, while we drag on here, especially when one has more than one's own miserable carcase to have a regard for, which while my children are, I have, and with a diligent concern will I wrestle to support them, and make them great, or worthy to be so, who have been so early (by a special Providence) unfortunate. But who knows, says Solomon, what is good for a man in his life? all the days of his vain life. Yet there is an inseparable connexion between God's wisdom and his will; so his work is perfect, for all his ways are judgment; and this is a necessary reflection at the astonishing changes of this age. If I look upon your letter, Doctor, I shall never end, but begin anew upon one part or other of it. Indeed that figure only of a man, if one speaks of him, engages to say a great deal: but I refrain.

I read a letter last night from my sister at Paris. She writes as every body that has human affection must; and says that of 1,800,000, there is not more than 10,000 esteemed to be left in France, and they, I guess, will soon be converted by the dragoons, or perish. So that near two millions of poor souls, made of the same clay as himself, have felt the rigour of that savage man. What you utter in a prophetical rage, I agree will come to pass. I have had reports of my nephew, but I will not proceed; yet I shew you how hard it is not to do so, by

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, Nov. 1685.

DR. TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

(Birch's Life of Tillotson.)

Canterbury, Nov. 21, 1688.

HONOURED MADAM,

WHEN I look back upon the date of your Ladyship's letter, I blush to see it hath lain by me so long unanswered. And yet I assure you no day passeth, in which your Ladyship and your children are not in my mind. But I know not how, in the hurry I am in in London, one business presseth so hard upon another, that I have less time for the things to which I have most inclination. I am now for awhile got out of the torment and noise of that great city, and do enjoy a little more repose.

It was a great trouble to me to hear of the sad loss your dear friend sustained during his short stay in England.* But in some circumstances, to die is to live. And that voice from heaven runs much in my mind, which St. John heard in his vision of the last (as I think) and most extreme persecution) which should befal the faithful servants of God, before the final downfal of Babylon, 'Blessed are the

* The death of her cousin, neice of Mons. Ruvigny, mentioned in the letter of 11th Oct. to Dr. Fitzwilliam.

dead that die in the Lord from henceforth;' meaning, that they were happy, who were taken away before that terrible and utmost trial of the faith and patience of the saints. But however that be, I do greatly rejoice in the preservation of your children from the great danger they were in upon that occasion, and thank God heartily for it, because whatever becomes of us, I hope they may live to see better things.

Just now came the news of the prorogation of the parliament to the 10th of February, which was surprising to us. We are not without hopes, that in the mean time things will be disposed to a better agreement against the next meeting. But when all is done, our greatest comfort must be, that we are all in the hands of God, and that he hath the care of us. And do not think, Madam, that he loves you the less for having put so bitter a cup into your hand. He whom he loved infinitely best of all mankind, drank much deeper of it.

I did hope to have waited upon my Lord of Bedford at my return to London; but now I doubt this prorogation will carry him into the country before that time. I intreat you to present my most humble service to his Lordship, to dear little master, and the young ladies. I am not worthy the consideration you are pleased to have of me; but I pray continually for you all, and ever shall be, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most faithful
And humble servant,
JO. TILLOTSON.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I PRESUME, Doctor, you are now so settled in your retirement (for such it is in comparison of that you can obtain at London) that you are at leisure to peruse the inclosed papers; hereafter I will send them once a week, or oftener if you desire it.

Yesterday the Lord Delamere passed his trial, and was acquitted.* I do bless God that he has caused some stop to the effusion of blood has been shed of late in this poor land. But, Doctor, as diseased bodies turn the best nourishments, and even cordials into the same sour humour that consumes and eats them up, just so do I. When I should rejoice with them that do rejoice, I seek a corner to weep in. I find I am capable of no more gladness; but every new circumstance, the very comparing my night of sorrow after such a day, with theirs of joy, does, from a reflection of one kind or other, rack my uneasy mind. Though I am far from wishing the close of theirs like mine, yet I cannot refrain giving some time to lament mine was not like theirs; but I certainly took too much delight in my lot, and would too willingly have built

* Henry Booth, Lord Delamere, tried for partaking in Monmouth's rebellion. Finch, Solicitor General, was very violent against him, but, Saxon the only positive evidence, appearing perjured, he was acquitted by his Peers. He afterward strenuously promoted the Revolution; in 1690, was created Earl of Warrington, and died 1693.

my tabernacle here; for which I hope my punishment will end with life.

The accounts from France are more and more astonishing; the perfecting the work is vigorously pursued, and by this time compleated it is thought; all without exception, having a day given them; only these I am going to mention have found so much grace as I will tell you. The Countess de Roy* is permitted, with two daughters, to go within fourteen days to her husband, who is in Denmark, in that King's service; but five other of her children are put into monasteries. Mareschal Schomberg† and his wife are commanded to be prisoners in their house, in some remote part of France appointed them. My uncle and his wife are permitted to come out of France. This I was told for a truth last night, but I hope it needs a confirmation.

It is enough to sink the strongest heart to read the relations are sent over. How the children are torn from their mothers, and sent into monasteries; their mothers to another. The husband to prison, or the gallies. These are amazing providences, Doctor! God out of infinite mercy strengthen weak believers. I am too melancholy an intelligencer to be very long, so will hasten to conclude, first telling you Lord Talbot‡ is come out of Ireland, and brought husbands for his daughters-in-law; one was married on Tuesday to a Lord Rosse; the other Lord is Dungan; Walgrave that married the King's daughter, is made a Lord.§ The brief of the poor Protestants was not sealed on Wednesday, as was hoped it would be; the Chancellor bid it to be laid by, when it was offered him to seal.

I am very really, good Doctor,
Your affectionate friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Jan. 15, 1685-6.

* Countess Du Roy, wife of Frederic Charles du Roy, Knight of the Elephant, and Generalissimo to the King of Denmark; his daughter, Henrietta, was the second wife of William Wentworth Earl of Strafford.

† Frederic de Schomberg, Marshal of France, was created by King William, Duke Schomberg, &c. 1689; killed at the battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. He was son of Count Schomberg, by Lord Dudley's daughter. The Count was killed, with several sons, at the battle of Prague, 1620. The Duke was a man of great calmness, application, and conduct; of true judgment, exact probity, and an humble, obliging temper. The persecution of the Protestants induced him to leave France and enter into King William's service. He was eighty-two years old at his death.—*Rapin.* His death, says Ralph, was indeed an irreparable loss. The historian says, we cannot do too much honour to his memory, which will make a considerable figure in history, whilst the world lasts. His son Charles was mortally wounded at the battle of Marsiglia, Sept. 24, 1693.

‡ Lord Richard Talbot, afterward Earl of Tyrconnel, a papist.

§ Henry, Lord Waldegrave, of Chewton, married the Lady Henrietta Fitz-James, natural daughter to King James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister to John Duke of Marlborough; he retired to France in 1689, and died at Paris the same year.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE received and read your letters, good Doctor. As your never fail of performing a just part to your friend, so it were pity you should not consider enough to act the same to yourself. I think you do; and all you say that concerns your private affairs, is justly and wisely weighed; so I let that rest. I acknowledge the same of the distinct paper which touches more nearly my sore; perhaps I ought to do it with some shame and confusion of face, and perhaps I do so, Doctor; but my weakness is invincible, which makes me, as you phrase it excellently, possess past calamities. But he who took upon him our nature, felt our infirmities, and does pity us; and I shall receive of his fulness at the end of days, which I will silently wait for.

If you have heard of the dismal accident in this neighbourhood, you will easily believe Tuesday night was not a quiet one with us. About one o'clock in the night I heard a great noise in the square, so little ordinary, I called up a servant, and sent her down to learn the occasion. She brought up a very sad one, that Montague-house was on fire; and it was so indeed; it burnt with so great violence, the whole house was consumed by five o'clock. The wind blew strong this way, so that we lay under fire a great part of the time, the sparks and flames continually covering the house, and filling the court. My boy awaked, and said he was almost stifled with smoke, but being told the reason, would see it, and so was satisfied without fear; took a strange bed-fellow very willingly, Lady Devonshire's youngest boy, whom his nurse had brought wrapped up in a blanket. Lady Devonshire* came towards morning and lay here; and had done so still, but for a second ill accident. Her brother, Lord Arran,† who has been ill of a fever twelve days, was despaired of yesterday morning, and spots appeared; so she resolved to see him, and not to return hither, but to Somerset-house, where the Queen offered her lodgings. He is said to be dead, and I hear this morning it is a great blow to the family; and that he was a most dutiful son and kind friend to all his family.

Thus we see what a day brings forth! and how momentary the things we set our hearts upon! O! I could heartily cry out, When will longed-for eternity come! But our duty is to possess our souls with patience.

I am unwilling to shake off all hopes about the brief, though I know them that went to the Chancellor‡ since the refusal to seal it, and his answer does not encourage one's

* Mary, daughter to James Butler, Duke of Ormond: married to William Cavendish, Earl, afterward Duke of Devonshire.

† He died Jan. 26, 1685-6.

George, Lord Jefferies, Baron of Wem, very inveterate against Lord Russell. He was, says Burnet, scandalously vicious, drunk every day, and furiously passionate; and when Lord Chief Justice, he even betrayed the decencies of his post, by not affecting to appear impartial, as became a Judge, and by running upon all occasions into noisy declamations. He died in the Tower, April 18, 1689.

hopes. But he is not a lover of smooth language; so in that respect we may not so soon despair.*

I fancy I saw the young man you mentioned to be about my son. One brought me six prayer-books as from you; also distributed three or four in the house. I sent for him, and asked him if there was no mistake? He said, No. And after some other questions, I concluded him the same person. Doctor, I do assure you I put an entire trust in your sincerity to advise; but, as I told you, I shall ever take Lord Bedford along in all the concerns of the child. He thinks it early yet to put him to learn in earnest; so do you, I believe. My Lord is afraid if we take one for it, he will put him to it; yet I think perhaps to overcome my Lord in that, and assure him, he shall not be pressed. But I am much advised, and indeed inclined, if I could be fitted to my mind, to take a Frenchman, so I shall do a charity, and profit the child also, who should learn French. Here are many scholars come over, as are of all kinds, God knows.

I have still a charge with me, Lady Devonshire's daughter, who is just come into my chamber; so must break off.

I am, Sir, truly,
Your faithful servant,
R. RUSSELL.

January 22, 1685-6.

The young lady tells me Lord Arran is not dead, but rather better.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I INTENDED you, good Doctor, a letter before I left Windsor, but I question if it succeeded, for the day I sent it to the coach, that was newly gone; and the next you was gone, I believe. However, the French papers were the greatest loss, so it is pretty indifferent how it fell out; if a like fate befals this, it will be of a like consequence, setting aside the information I write this on purpose to give you, which is—I have just dated my letter to my Lady Digby, of Coleshal, writ in answer to hers, by which she desires me, in pursuance of a dying brother's advice, and her son's inclination, to propose to Lord Gainsborough a marriage between the present Lord† and Lady Jane. I have done it; though I wished she had made choice of any other person than myself, who desiring to know the world no more, am utterly unfitted for the management of any thing in it, but must, as I can, engage in such necessary offices to my children, as I cannot be dispensed from, nor desire to be, since it is an eternal obligation upon me, to the memory of a husband, to whom, and his, I have dedicated the few and

* Doctor, afterward Bishop Beveridge, objected to the reading the brief in the cathedral of Canterbury, as contrary to the Rubric. Tillotson replied, 'Doctor, Doctor, charity is above rubrics.'—*Birch*.

† William Lord Digby, deservedly called *the Good*.—Whiston speaks highly of him; Pope mentions him as full of days and honour. He married Jane, second daughter to Edward Earl of Gainsborough, and died November, 1752, aged ninety years, nine months.

sad remainder of my days, in this vale of misery and trouble. But to suspend this and hasten my report, the proposition is accepted; my Lord declares himself willing to do all he can for his children; he offers 3000*l.* paid as with the last, and leaves out the 2000*l.* coming back if Lord Campden should happen to die. I believe Lord Digby and his mother will be soon in town. My sister Alington came to Bedford-house three or four days ago. Lord Northampton's great match is crossed; and now the Lord Mulgrave* is an attendant on her person; he went down in great equipage a week past. Lord Northampton challenged Seymour, but he does not use to fight, so that matter rests. I expect my old uncle Ruvigny and his family in two or three days. Doctor, I must not choose my entertainments, so can continue this no longer, but ever continue

Your faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Feb. 15, 1685-6.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

WITH my best respects, good Doctor, I send you the Gazettes. I take the town to be very barren of news, but I was out of it yesterday at Greenwich to see my old uncle Ruvigny, so know the less. It is concluded the Princess is with child. The Duke of Berwick is ill of the small-pox, and likely to be very ill with them; it will be the flux-pox, the Doctors say. The intercourses between England and Holland do not look calm, nor give content. Mr. Talmidge† has a regiment there, and a privy seal from hence, but I think, he will not feel the seizure can be made, so he will stand by his regiment. We talk of a parliament just as men feel agues, once in so many days. Now it is to be in May; it is thought that will wear off. The Earl of Bolingbroke is dead; he died in a boat, as he lived.

Lady Gainsborough sends me word her Lord mends still. Lady Campden's woman is in town to furnish lying-in things; I had the favour to have her come, and give me a compliment on her Lady's part. I am glad when they remember to do civil things for their own sakes; but I a little wonder he has not been to see his father. My sister Alington is coming to town presently.

I have told my news, and now must yield to a less liked employment, being called upon to a little business.

Your obliged friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

March 23, 1685-6.

* Lord Mulgrave, John Sheffield, afterward Duke of Buckingham, a person of the highest accomplishments, but of a sceptical turn. He married, first, Ursula, widow of the Earl of Conway; second, Catharine Grevile, widow of Baptist Earl of Gainsborough; third, the Lady Catharine Darnley (natural daughter to King James II. by Catharine Sedley), who was the widow of James Annesley, Earl of Anglesey, from whom she was separated by act of parliament, for his cruel and causeless ill usage.

† Probably Henry Talmash, afterward a General.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR letter lies before me, Doctor, but I dare not read it over, it would furnish me with so much to say, and I must not take time to do it; the lowness of my spirits, and the sadness of my constant thoughts, make me fancy myself hurried with some of my own pitiful affairs, and the entertaining my sister, who came to me this day se'ennight.

The present temper of your mind appears so suitable to what mine ever must remain, that I could talk and not fear to give new oppressions to your mind so tendered with the loss of an excellent friend, and man. You carefully and religiously prescribe yourself limits and bounds to your lamentations; but I would willingly observe if you exceed them not; so natural it is to spy out the faults and infirmities of others, as if we had reason to think the better of ourselves for the charging others. But I will not run on; leave you to the French prints. As to English news, I have none would serve the purpose I would have it, which is, to divert your thoughts so touchingly fixed upon mortifying objects, but I hear of no other.

The disposers of the brief-money met the first time yesterday; I am told the Chancellor carried it in a manner he sent away many with sad hearts, he concluded so strictly on the qualifications of such as were to partake of the charity; I think he would admit none to receive of it, that did not take the sacrament from his own chaplain. I doubt not you will be better informed than I can do it.

The reports from France are still the worst that can be. Duke de la Force is thrust into a convent, to be vexed till he will change. At home I fear no amicable composition of the disaster between Lord D—— and my sister. My mean endeavours must not be wanting, and that indeed employs my time and thoughts, there being few days to determine that matter in, the term beginning so soon. Her being here keeps me from Stratton, where I proposed to be the end of this month. But God does not dispose of things and persons as we form designs.

I am, Sir,
Your affectionate servant,
R. RUSSELL.

April 14, 1686.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR letter, Sir, dated June 27, and sheets of paper that accompanied it, found me at Woborne; by a letter from sister Aliugton, I understood you were with her that very day, and had completed your intention towards her, as you have most admirably your pious one towards distressed me; for which the world may hereafter stand indebted to my uncommon sad fate, for all that good they may share out of it.—It is most certain, if you give me the power you speak of, I dare not deprive this wanting generation so rich a supply, when I may have the dispensing of it. Your errors, Doctor, would be others' perfections; for I must believe your being master of very much matter, gives a

vast advantage over others; yet I allow a cause of some trouble to yourself, by restraining that flux of words and notions that flow so fast from you; but it is a rare excellency when the pain is more to refuse than choose. I cannot tell, Doctor, whether your papers met me in a better temper now than at some other times to relish them; yet sure I esteem these sheets to be so fine, that it brought into my mind the loss you have lately sustained of a much loved friend; and to conclude, that a new experience of grief had, in your struggles to overcome all unfit discontent, raised your fancy to the highest pitch of framing arguments against it: it is a happy effect of sorrow, and a sure evidence to the soul, that the promises of the holy word belong to her; that the work of grace is apt, and grows towards those degrees, where, when we arrive, we shall triumph over imperfections, and our wills desire nothing but what shall please God. We shall, as your phrase is, be renewed like eagles; and we like eagles mount up to meet the Lord coming in the clouds, and ever tarry with him, and be no more faint or weary in God's service. These are ravishing contemplations, Doctor! They clasp the heart with delight for such moments, or to say more truly, part of a moment that the soul is so well fixed. It is true, we can (you are sure) bear the occasions of grief without being sunk and drowned in those passions; but to bear them without a murmuring heart then is the task, and in failing, there lies the sin. O Lord, lay it not to the charge of thy weak servant; but make me cheerfully thankful that I had such a friend to lose; and contented that he has had dismission from his attendance here (an expression you use I am much pleased with). When my time comes that I shall have mine, I know not how it will find me then; but I am sure it is my best reviving thought now; when I am plunged in multitudes of wild and sad thoughts, I recover and recollect a little time will end this life, and begin a better that shall never end, and where we shall discover the reasons and ends of all those seeming severe providences we have known. Thus I seem to long for the last day, and yet it is possible if sickness, or any other forerunner of our dissolution were present, I would defer it if I could; so deceitful are our hearts, or so weak is our faith. But I think, one may argue again, that God has wisely implanted in our nature a shrinking at the approach of a separation; and that may make us content, if not desire a delay. If it were not so implanted there, many would not endure the evils of life, that now do it, though they are taught duty that obliges us thereto.

I know, Sir, I am very tedious; and if it be impertinent, I know also you will take it as if it were not so. Now I take this freedom scarce with any body else; but it is a great indulgence to myself, and I am very certain you are pleased I should use it. I find it most especially useful on the return of these my saddest days, when dismal and yet astonishing remembrances crowd fastest into my mind: however I shall, by God's goodness to me, stick close to those helps, you have provided me, and read every day these new sheets, till the bitterest of all be passed. On Tuesday, my sister Alington designs to be here; I am sorry

it happens to be just that day, since I affect nothing that is particular or singular; but as yet I have not seen any body besides my children on that day, being 13 July; nor does it seem decent for me to do it, almost, when I remember the sad scene I saw and attended at all that day, and the miserable accidents of it, as the unfortunate end of Lord Essex,* to me so fatal, if the Duchess of Portsmouth told me true; that they said the jury could not have condemned my Lord, if my Lord Essex had not died as he did.

But I will do as I can: I hope she will not misconstruct what I shall do. I am sure I will never fail to her (by God's grace), because I know how tenderly he loved her, though I am apt to think now, she returned it not in love to a degree I once thought she had for him, and that sure he merited from her. But we are not loved most always by those we love best: she is very engaging where and when she pleases; but enough of this.

I will make no answer to that part of your letter, where you express some resentment at the joining hands by another than yourself. I had no part in it, but the disappointment of not seeing Doctor Fits, on a day I thought I should. When I heard who was to do it, I did conclude they thought the Dean would be disobliged by laying him aside, being in his parish. I let pass the misfortunes fallen on another Dean, or rather on his parishioners; but God is the supreme pastor, who still lives, and to him we may still go, should we be bereaved of all others.

I hear by my sister Montague† she found a sickly family at Paris; her daughter in a languishing condition, worn to nothing almost with a fever, which has hung about her for these last six weeks; the doctors apprehend a hectic, but youth, I hope, will overcome it.

I have sent you the Gazettes, Doctor, though they will be so old, all the use of them will be to practise your French tongue.

I am, with great sincerity,
Your faithful friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL.

July 11, 1686.

Sir William Coventry‡ left a noble charity when he died,

* Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex (son of Arthur who was taken at Colchester, condemned and beheaded 9 March, 1648-9); he was a true patriot, and for delivering a petition against the parliament sitting at Oxford, was accused of the Ryehouse Plot, (Brit. Compend.) and committed to the Tower. He might (says Burnet) have made his escape, but his tenderness for Lord Russell, and a fear that his absence might have an ill influence at his trial, made him stay at his country-house till a party of horse were sent to bring him up; he was found with his throat cut, not without suspicion of his being murdered in the Tower, 13 July, 1683, the morning of Lord Russell's trial, against whom this circumstance was used as an argument to prove the truth of the conspiracy, and condemn him.

† Elizabeth, married to the Earl, afterward (1705) Duke of Montague.

‡ A man hearty for the Protestant religion and interest of England, and had a perfect knowledge of affairs.—*Burnet.*

2000*l.* to the French refugees, and 3000*l.* to redeem slaves. His four executors are, Harry Savil, James and Harry Thin, which are two brothers of the Lord Weymouth, and Frank Coventry, his nephew. He died at Tunbridge, and was buried at Penthurst.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

GOOD DOCTOR,

I AM sure my heart is filled with the obligation, how ill soever my words may express it, for all those hours you have set apart (in a busy life) for my particular benefit, for the quieting my distracted thoughts, and reducing them to a just measure of patience for all I have or can suffer. I trust I shall with diligence, and some success, serve those ends they were designed to. They have very punctually, the time you intended them for, the last two sheets coming to my hands the 16th of this fatal month; it is the 21st completes my three years of true sorrow, which should be turned rather into joy; as you have laid it before me, with reasons strongly maintained, and rarely illustrated. Sure he is one of those has gained by a dismission from a longer attendance here; while he lived his being pleased led me to be so too, and so it should do still; and then my soul should be full of joy; I should be easy and cheerful, but it is sad and heavy; so little we distinguish how, and why we love, to me it argues a prodigious fondness of one's self; I am impatient that is hid from me I took delight in, though he knows much greater than he did here. All I can say for myself is, that while we are clothed with flesh, to the perfectest, some displeasure will attend a separation from things we love. This comfort I think I have in my affliction, that I can say, unless thy law had been my delight, I should have perished in my trouble. The rising from the dead is a glorious contemplation, Doctor! nothing raises a drooping spirit like it; his Holy Spirit, in the mean time, speaking peace to our consciences, and through all the gloomy sadness of our condition, letting us discern that we belong to the election of grace, that our persons are accepted and justified. But still I will humble myself for my own sins, and those of our families, that brought such a day on us.

I have been under more than ordinary care for my eldest girl; she has been ill of St. Anthony's fire, as we call it, and is not yet free from it. I had a doctor down with her, but he found her so likely to do well he stayed only one day. I have sent you these Gazettes, and will send no more, for I reckon you will be in your progress of visits.

I wish with you Lord Campden would marry; but I want skill to prevail by what I can say. I hope I need employ none to persuade Dr. Fitzwilliam that I am very acknowledging, and very sincerely

His friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

July 18, 1686.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I CAN divine no more than yourself, good Doctor, why a letter writ the 18th of July should come to you before one that WAS writ the 13th; they went from hence in order, I am very sure. I answer yours as soon as I can, and yet not soon enough to find you at Cotenham, as I guessed, being you say you intended to be at Windsor the middle of September, and the greatest part of the interval at Hereford; and I remember you have in a former letter told me, you intended a visit at Lord Gainsborough's; so that this paper being likely to be a wanderer, and so in hazard of not coming to you at all it may be, I will not charge it with those letters you ask for; they are too valuable to me to be ventured, especially since mine loiter so by the way; therefore I will hear again from you before I send them, with particular directions where they shall come to you. I read with some contentment, Doctor, that as either to speak or write a compliment would ill become you, it is your opinion my nature is averse to be so treated. It is so indeed, if I know myself; and I thank you for your justice to me. I have long thought it the meanest inclination a man can have, to be very solicitous for the praise of the world, especially if the heart is not pure before God. It is an unfaithfulness I have been afraid of, and do not fear to say it has often excited me to be what I found good people thought me.

I do confess there is a beauty in godliness, that draws our love to those we find it in; and it does give a secret pleasure to have that attributed to one's self that one finds so charming in another. I am very certain, Doctor, your judgment is without error, that the fastest cement of friendship is piety. One may love passionately, but one loves unquietly, if the friend be not a good man; and when a separation comes, what veneration do we give to their memory, we consider as loved by God from all eternity!

As to your papers, Sir, I would not by any means abuse the power you give me, nor can I think I do so, if I am a cause that others have it in their power to try the same cordial I have found comfortable when under great heaviness of heart. I have read those books you have avoided to read, and must say as you do, the same matter may be handled several ways. In mixing cordials for faint spirits, we often make them differ in the taste; yet one is as useful and effectual as the other; perhaps one is most so to the one, when the other is to another; but that is not known till both tried. As to the commonness of the subject, why should that hinder? No man is at all times laying himself out to the uttermost of his ability, that is, in treating the deepest points; yet, if some such work ought to be public before one of this sort, I will not be contentious, nor tyrannical, in the power which is in my hands, because you have given it: it would be an unjust return to your compositions in my great distress. I would acquiesce, and be content with copies, for such to whom I would recommend the reading of them also. I will tell you another scruple

just now (as I write) risen in my thoughts, and therefore not at all digested, that though you do not own the work by your name before it, yet the author seldom fails being known, and the peculiar occasion, when there is one, Whether the politic part were good then in the publishing of it, it is advisable to consider of perhaps. And pray do so, and not from a quickness of mind answer me presently; you put it not in balance when the design is to serve one you profess a particular respect to. But remember my end is served, and theirs, we know, may be so too; those we know not, will be the losers. This is my highest objection, and what I will not too easily pass over. We live in difficult times. God in mercy fit each one for his lot. My letters lie ready, and some prayers you sent with the first papers.

My sister Alington we have kept still here; she threatens to leave us every week. Rachel is very well again; I desire to bless God for it. My sister's girl is recovering. Our news letters say her Lord has a new friendship with Lord Danby; but nothing is strange in such as follow courts.

Not knowing the fate of this letter, I will add no more from,

Good Doctor,
Your obliged friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, August 12, 1686.

DR. FITZWILLIAM TO LADY RUSSELL.

I CANNOT, very honoured and good Madam, be better pleased than when I am doing any service for my friends, especially in that way where no power of man can render me unserviceable while it permits me to breathe, in administering to their spiritual estate; because this is doing God service, and glorifying my great Master while I can bring any one soul forward to glory.

Certainly to be able to comfort and refresh any sad dejected spirits in a dark and gloomy day of trouble, or to aid such a one to submit with patience, if the resigning or offering up itself with cheerfulness cannot be effected, to God's correction, which is so often misapprehended for the mark of his displeasure, is to make the passage easier to another life, and consequently to assist such a one in his journey towards the happy state of that, when all the discouragements on the road thither are either removed, or much lessened. If then that which I sent you assuaged the pain of the wound, by pouring any oil into it; or if it helped you to bear the smart of it with contentedness, while the return of the season opened it afresh, and your sense of it, I cannot but from such a reflection, that any performance of mine contributed to the ease or the courage of a person whom I regard so much, and ought to do so; for whose welfare I am so solicitous, and should be culpable if I were less, reap a great deal of satisfaction. The shortest method of gaining this contentedness in all the stages of our lives we are to pass through, is to love God with all our hearts and souls, and to love nothing here below, even what He al-

lows us to love with the tenderest affection, but in Him, and for Him; and then we cannot complain of his taking away the object on which we were enamoured, from our fruition, when it was only He we loved, and enjoyed in it; and Him we may still enjoy, though we are dispossessed of that, because He is ever with us. And because the object may be such we may enjoy again, of which nature all our friends are, who are taken out of the sight of our eyes; for this end we are therefore to express our love towards God, in aspiring, in thirsting after a more immediate and intimate fruition of Him than this life affords, that we may in Him again enjoy those we are separated from. This is the great argument of consolation that St. Cyprian makes use of against the fear of death, in his treatise of Mortality, that it will bring us to the sight and fruition of a number of friends, who have preceded us, taking a shorter or earlier course to happiness than we have done.

I have a Meditation on this subject fitted to my own use, and since disposed to the use of two other friends, for it was designed to serve more than myself, which I may take some opportunity of transcribing, and sending to you. In the mean time, and in all seasons, I will ever continue, with my prayers for you and yours,

Very good and honoured Madam,
Your most humble,
And faithfully devoted servant,
J. FITZWILLIAM.

Chilton, August 12th.

I know not how it happened that your letter to me was postponed so, that Lady Gainsborough had received a letter from you of congratulation, before I could acquaint her with your intention to do so. Lady G. your niece, Mrs. Napier, are your very humble servants. The last is like to be very happy in a husband, if I am not grossly mistaken: I am sure I am not that he is a very ingenious and well-natured man.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I AM so persuaded of Doctor Fitzwilliam's concern for me and mine, that though I omitted a report at the end of the week, which was occasioned by a desire to get all the time alone I could, which is but a little, notwithstanding I use all my skill to get more, by denying to see all company; though as I said, I omitted the end, I will not the beginning, to tell you how good God has been to me in the person of my child, whose eye is as well as the other. I shall another time rely the more on Doctor Lower's judgment, who named eight days, and it was so to a day. I hope this has been a sorrow I shall profit by; I shall, if God will strengthen my feeble resolves to return him a continual praise, and make this the season to chase all secret murmurs from grieving my soul for what is past, letting it rejoice in what it should rejoice, his favour to me, in the blessings I have left, which many of my betters want, and yet have lost their chiefest friend also. But, O Doctor! the manner of my deprivation is yet astonishing.

I must not abide on this subject; I had your very good letter, and think myself

Your obliged friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

October 4, 1686.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

As I think time very well spent in reading your letters, good Doctor, I am ever disposed to thank you for them, and all the consolation they bring with them, the excitations to all good directions relating to practice or contemplation, by all pious arts, seeking a cure to an unhappy creature, and faulty in giving too much scope to nature and passion, not duly considering the great blessings God still continued to me; for that must have softened the sharpness of other thoughts, that have subdued me too absolutely; yet as you exceedingly well remember me, I might reflect how my son was raised in my great day of trouble, and that I felt lately I could yet be more miserable, if the evil threatened had fallen on another beloved child; but God has been gracious to me in healing her sorrow, and I will endeavour religiously to perform my resolution, made in my agonies for her, of some cheerful thankfulness.

Your last, Doctor, I received since my return to Woborne; the date was the 10th October. I have been the less quick in my answer, from some expectation if you came to London, I should hear again from you; but I think your usual time is, not till November, and that is too long to stay, to send this to Windsor.

I will not argue about the sheets of paper, since there cannot well be any determination, till you have, I guess, those papers you once ordered to be sent to you at Cotenham; but your letter came not so timely for me to think fit to send them, by reason of your journey to Herefordshire. I am very solicitous you should be safe in the first place; and then it is fit to wish all good people all the benefit they can have by the pious labours of such as are blest with gifts to prepare it for them. Alas! Doctor, I am as far as yourself can be from imagining, that any the most forward to take his life (in whose all the innocent delights of mine were bound) had the least thought to embitter mine; or indeed thought of me at all. The point in that kind is no more, as I conceive it, than the sense of an officiousness to one that so sadly laments what they would have all rejoiced at; but this is a matter so far sought for, that I think there is nothing in it, and the less from the acquaintance, which is so notoriously known, and your dependence once upon my father. I will let it rest this time, with my hearty wishes, you may advise and choose best in this and all other concerns; I do it as one very sincerely,

Your affectionate friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, Oct. 27, 1686.

I have now received a letter from Lady Gainsborough, as surprising as any thing of that kind can be to one. It is to tell me that Lord Camden was come from his sister Digby's, the night before, to ask his father's leave to marry

the Lord Brook's eldest daughter,* and was returning in haste to accomplish it. My Lady indeed writ to me, as long ago as when they were entertaining the King at Portsmouth, that a Warwickshire Knight had writ to her Lord to propose this young lady to his son, but I expected no other effect from it, than has been from so many other motions of that kind; however, the wise man says, there is a time for all things. I am certain there can be none in which I do not wish their mother's children happy as my own. I think myself hugely obliged to my Lady in taking care I may not have all the advertisements from a newspaper, or the hand of those as little concerned, as I had now, and happened to open it before hers, not knowing it, the superscription not being her hand. It was a matter so unlooked for by me, it gained no credit, till I read my Lady's own letter.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I DO not love, good Doctor, to let your letters lie by me unanswered. I ever find much in them that expresses my obligation to you, and as soon inclines me to be saying something by the way of thankfulness. The gratefulness I can make, I am persuaded, is to do myself good, by letting into my soul deep impressions of those necessary duties you so elegantly urge. I do promise you my endeavours, and assure you, you treat me as I would be treated. All the fault I can find is in your apologies; they are too humble towards yourself in the mistrusts of your proceeding. Indeed, Doctor, you observe too punctually respects to err on the one hand, and are too stout and sincere a Christian to do it on the other, so that it is safe to be under your conduct. If high quality shuts out a freedom in those cases, I bless the goodness of God I am out of that exalted rank, for I would choose to be told my smallest errors.

I join my wishes most sincerely with yours for the prosperity of Lord Camden, and that his happiness in marriage may exceed his expectation. Some years past I should have been mightily pleased at the double relation this marriage gives me to him, but there is a stain in the father can never be washed off to my sight. I am sorry for it; however, that will not lessen my respect to the young lady, and especially when she is my nephew's wife. I hear from all but himself he is a transported lover. I fear he will be gone before I get to London; I fear it, because I could be content to see him since his inflexibility is conquered. My sister Alington, I hear, has much of his company; I doubt not but she has some of yours also. More discourse of the papers is deferred till we meet, which, if God permit, may be under three weeks, or thereabouts.

Nov. 19, 1686.

* Wriothesley Baptist, Lord Camden, son to Edward Earl of Gainsborough, by Lady Eliz. Wriothesley; married Catharine, daughter to Fulk Greville, Lord Brook. Catharine, sister to William, Earl (afterward Duke) of Bedford, was married to Robert, father of Fulk, Lord Brook.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

NOTHING less fatal than what happened last week in my poor sister's family, I think, should have kept me, I am sure not willingly, from writing to you, good Doctor; but you will not wonder I found no time for such an exercise as this, when you know it has been the will of God to take the life of her eldest son,* after lying ill of a fever eight days. I believe she takes it heavily, for truly I have not seen her since the child died on Sunday morning, and her Lord and herself went on Saturday night to Lady Harvey's.† She gave me her girl to take home to me; the other boy being then feverish also, continues in the house. Now my own sad trials making me know how mean a comforter I can be, I think my best service is to take some care of her two children, who are both well now, and hope God will be pleased to keep them so, and teach her to be content. God should place his creatures where he knows it is best for them to be, and when it is best for us, we shall go to them, but they must not come back to us, who remain to struggle in an unquiet world, in all appearance; yet God's hand is not shortened that he cannot save; however, if he will not here, he will hereafter, if we patiently wait the day of consolation that will endure for ever. Join your fervent prayers with my weak and cold ones, good Doctor, that no secret murmurs of heart may stand between me, and hinder my hopes of the admirable comforts of that great day, for which my mourning soul longs.

The poor Princess is wonderful sad I hear.‡ It is said the King is not pleased with the Envoy Extraordinary the States are sending over; he is one, it seems, entirely in the interest of the Prince. The Chief Justice Benefield§ died suddenly in the church last Sunday; and a Master in Chancery did so since, but I do not know his

* Ralph, son to Ralph and Elizabeth Montague, died about twelve years old.

† Lady Harvey, Eliz. daughter of Edward (father of Ralph) Lord Montague, was married to Sir Daniel Harvey, Knt. Ambassador to Constantinople.

‡ Princess Anne, married to Prince George, second son of Frederic III. King of Denmark, in 1683. They had four daughters, and two sons, who all died young—Lady Mary, born June 2, 1685, and Lady Anne Sophia, born May 10, 1686; the last died, Feb. 2, 1686-7; and the other, Feb. 8: William, Duke of Gloucester, a very hopeful Prince, born in 1689, died in 1700: Prince George of Denmark, with whom she lived in matchless love and content, died, to her unspeakable grief, in Oct. 1708; a Prince universally beloved and lamented.—*Hist. of the Royal Family.* Queen Anne, who during the whole course of her marriage had been a most tender and affectionate wife to him in his last illness, which lasted some years, would never leave his bed, but sat up sometimes half the night in bed with him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on very deservedly as a pattern of conjugal affection. She was also a prudent indulgent mother.—*Tindal.*

§ Beneficld probably Sir Henry Bedingfield, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

name. I must desire you once more to write how to direct my letters, for the last, which was to send them on Thursday, is so blotted, I fear to mistake, therefore this is by the post to assure you I am very faithfully,

Your friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Feb. 9, 1686-7. Ash Wednesday.

Lord Newport* gave up his staff on Tuesday. The Gazette this day says Lord Waldegrave has the Lord Mainard's; and Lord Yarmouth Newport's† staff. Prince George is ill of a fever. Both the children were opened; the eldest was all consumed, but the youngest very sound, and likely to live.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I MUST keep still to Friday, since I have not a new direction from you, as I asked by the post last week. I will not repeat the sad intelligence I gave you then, because I am sure you cannot be without the information now.

The good Princess has taken her chastisement heavily; the first relief of that sorrow proceeded from the threatning of a greater, the Prince being ill. I never heard any relation more moving than that of seeing them together. Sometimes they wept, sometimes they mourned; in a word, then sat silent, hand in hand; he sick in his bed, and she the carefullest nurse to him that can be imagined. As soon as he was able, they both went to Richmond, which was on Tuesday last.

My sister continues still at Lady Harvey's, much afflicted at her loss; it seems as if they would not return again at this time to Montague-house, but take some house near Windsor. Her daughter is still with me, but the boy at Montague-house: though now very well, he is not suffered to go farther than the next room; the present terror upon loss of the other has occasioned more care for him than was necessary. This is a fine lively child; I hope God will spare it to them to their comfort, and not in wrath, as sometimes one would judge children are. We little know what we earnestly ask for, when we do so for the lives of children or friends.

The King refuses audience to Monsieur Dykvelt, till matters are adjusted with his new Ambassador in Holland, for he has not had his yet. The ministers have been to visit this, that is, Lord Sunderland,‡ for he is as the whole. Every one has their guess what his business is, but all together are of one mind, that he might as well have staid away for any advantage he will have in his

* Francis Lord Newport, afterward Earl of Bradford, married Diana, sister to William Earl (Duke) of Bedford.

† William Paston, Earl of Yarmouth, Treasurer of the Household, married the Lady Charlotte Jemis Henrietta Maria Boyle, or Fitzroy, daughter of Charles II. by Elizabeth Killegrew.

‡ Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, said to be the greatest politician of his age.—*Brit. Comp.*

journey. It is supposed Lord Clarendon* is kept in Ireland by the winds, as the other was in England. There is great astonishment amongst that people, Lord Ormond yet walking with his white staff.† The reports are divers: some say he has answered the question unmannerly; but the King told him, in consideration of his age, he should wear his staff; others are apt to think he will be absent; and more are of this last opinion, as also that the parliament shall continue still to be prorogued. The Lord Sunderland said to that effect a few days ago; but the words of ministers are not easily understood in their true meaning.

The talk is great that France will early in the spring fall into Alsace, but my French friends will not allow it; they agree he would fain make a peace of the truce, and fright them into it (if nothing else will do), with the threats of a war, yet will engage in none.

I am, Sir,
Your real friend, all the sad life of
R. RUSSELL.

Feb. 18, 1686-7.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THERE is so much reason, Doctor, to think that time well spent is so in reading your excellent letters, that it is time lost to spend any in telling you I esteem it to such a height, I shall be very defective in expressing, if I went about it. But you must conclude one knows nothing of good or bad, and is contented with that sordid ignorance, before you can believe what you write is read with indifference; and since you have conceived better thoughts of me, I will hope (notwithstanding my many frailties) you will never find cause to let them sink so low as to doubt whether I use some strict care to be prepared for all future events, and to receive with thankfulness the council and instruction of good and wise men, whose friendship, zeal, and compassion dispose them with painful labour and pious arts, to win us to that infinitely best for us. I often think, could but this single particular be fixed firmly in our hearts, that God knows where, it is best to place his creatures, and is good to all, delighting not to punish what he has made, how easily and safely could we live by rule, and despise the world; not as perhaps I do, because I cannot recover what was a perpetual bliss to me here, but as considering we are strangers and pilgrims upon earth, travelling to a better country, and therefore may

* Henry Hide, Earl of Clarendon, displaced; Earl of Tyrconnel made Lord Deputy of Ireland.

† Duke of Ormond was Steward of the Household; he died July 26, 1688, eminent for zeal, loyalty, and fidelity. His son, Thomas Earl of Ossory, honoured and esteemed by all for his courage, virtue, and many excellent qualities, died 1679; by his lady, Amelia de Nassau, he left several children; his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to James Stanley, Earl of Derby. He defended his father's conduct in parliament with spirit and success.

well bear with bad accommodations sometimes in our way to it. None are so dealt with, I believe, as not to live some days of joy, yet we can lay no claim to do so, nor are the happiest here below without tasting the bitter cup of affliction at some time of their life; so imperfect is this state, and doubtless wisely and mercifully ordered so, that through all the changes and chances of this mortal life, we may be the most apt to thrust forward towards, and in the end (with inexpressible joy) attain, that state, where, as you express it, we shall feel no more storms, but enjoy a perpetual calm. What can be more! The thought clasps one's heart, and causes the imprisoned soul to long to take her flight! But it is our duty to wait with patience each of us our appointed time.

My sister is just now at Mr. Winwood's, by Windsor; when she comes back, I shall make her know how much you have considered her; and I pray God to lay it close to her heart, that she may retire into the strengths of grace, the more sincerely she is assaulted with discomfits here. She has a fine lovely boy left. The poor princess continues still at Richmond, too sad I fear.

Monsieur Dykvelt had his audience on Monday, and was retired with the King half an hour in his closet. He is allowed to be a man of parts and integrity: what his business is, every one is left to his own guess as yet.*

Lord Clarendon landed on Monday last: it is affirmed the new governor lays heavy weight on him, as that he leaves the people under great discouragements, occasioned by the sad stories he has told them, and using all arguments to bring them away by whole families; that in a little time he did not doubt to reassume them, when they would be made sensible no real harm was meant to them.

The King is marrying the Lady Mary Tudor to one Mr. Radcliff,† a gentleman of great estate in the North, and ancient family; a papist.

Sir John Talbot is to be made a Lord presently: the King says he finds him to be a gentleman of better understanding than almost any he knows in England, and judges him to be a person of integrity; which is more than can be pronounced of Mr. Jenkyns‡ of the North, heir to an estate of 1200*l.* per annum.

He was accused as the author of Lady Mary Pawlet's grievous misfortune, but with great asseverations he denied it to persons of the best quality that were concerned for her; yet now owns himself her husband more than a year past. Enough of so bad a story. Lord Northampton on Monday last presented, on the Bishop's behalf, a petition to the King, to which there is yet no answer. The petion contained no more than expressing a deep sense of

* Dykvelt's instructions were drawn up by Dr. Burnet.—*History of his own Times*, p. 708.

† Sir Francis Radcliff, of Dilston, Northumberland, married the Lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to Charles II. by Mary Davis. He was created Earl of Derwentwater, March, 1687-8.

‡ Toby Jenkins, Esq. of Grimston, Yorkshire, married Lady Elizabeth Pawlet, youngest daughter of Charles Marquis of Winchester (afterwards Duke of Bolton). Lady Mary died unmarried.—*Brit. Comp.*

lying under the King's displeasure,* and begging that might be taken off. They say a declaration will presently come out, to shew the King's dispensing power.† Mr. Savil was yesterday morning in the King's closet.—The event is expected. Many are persuaded the French King is bent for action this spring; my French friends will not allow it. If my paper did not put me in mind, I know not how long I should have rambled on. Room must be left for all my good things: the best turkey, the best pork and cheese that can be eat: the last bit of pork eat last night. This is not lent-fare, Doctor.

R. RUSSELL.

February 25, 1686-7.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

ALTHOUGH I take your life, good Doctor, to be a continual doing good to souls, and am very certain you would not exclude mine from the best benefits you can help it with; and therefore from the general course of your actions do rely upon being profited by your precepts, examples, and pious prayers; yet I know myself to owe you, as one you have distinguished from others by your particular labours, to make my sorrowful soul find comfort in what true joys are only to be found. Therefore, if I knew how, I would, both in my actions and words, make my acknowledgments distinguished from others. I know of what sort they are you would like best; to preserve myself with better care to receive those comforts you can but externally administer, with prayer, that God by his good Spirit would deal inwardly in our hearts, and work his work of grace upon us; then we should do mighty things. I am sorry for my unaptness, and sometimes think, that certainly in my more pleasant days, I lived as if I knew no higher delight, and it is that makes my separation still so bitter to me, that, to my shame and sorrow, I must confess to you my heart seems so bound down to a perpetual sadness, that even the solemnity of this blessed time, which calls for our most exalted praises, could not stir it, nor yet does it melt at the meditations of my dear Saviour's suffering for sinners; but a flood of tears are ever ready, when I permit the least thought of my cala-

* George Compton, Earl of Northampton, nephew to Henry Bishop of London, a family eminently distinguished for their courage and loyalty to Charles I. and II. The Bishop (Burnet says) applied himself more to his function than Bishops had commonly done; he was an humble and modest man (a friend to the Revolution); he was suspended *ab officio* September 26, 1686, by the High Commission, for refusing to suspend Dr. John Sharpe, as directed by the King, the Doctor having preached on controversial points contrary to the King's letter prohibiting it. The Bishop's petition was ineffectual; his suspension not being taken off till September 30, 1688. Sharpe, who Burnet calls a very pious man, and says he read his sermons with much life and zeal, was, in 1691, consecrated Archbishop of York.

* February 12, 1686-7, a proclamation for liberty of conscience in Scotland. April 4, 1687, King James II.'s declaration suspending the penal laws and test.

mity. This is matter of great humiliation, and, I hope, I make it such; and must rest in doing the duty, till God sees it fit to let me know better refreshments, and taste of those joys in which his servants are often so transported; but I will wait with a quiet submission.

Here has appeared no great changes since you went; the liberty of conscience is so notorious a matter, I meddle not with it, confining myself to lower matters, as I may tell you. He who was Admiral Herbert* is forbid to go out of England. Mr. Forester, who has been in Holland some considerable time, is sent for by a privy seal.

There is a sheet of paper writ, as the King hath said, by Doctor Burnet, to give reasons against taking away the test. It is hard to get; when I have it you shall see it. Some think it is not Burnet's.†

The Prince and Princess have consented to see him no more. Lady Rochester‡ lies still in a languishing condition. Lord Peterborough§ is declared a Roman Catholic: the report is, two more, the Chancellor‖ and Lord President¶ will, next Sunday. I remember no more, so leave you to the Gazette, ever continuing

Your real friend and servant,

R. Russell.

April 1, 1687.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

By Doctor Fitzwilliam's letter from Windsor, I have a demonstration to add to many others, that he remembers me wherever he is. A piece of paper which I scribbled out to you, lies, I believe, at your house at Cotenham. However foolish a thing it may be to say, the headach has hindered me again writing to you, since I knew you to be at Windsor, yet so it is; it is God's will I should be something more afflicted with bodily pains than for some late years I have been. I am well contented, and hope he will not lay them so heavy as to disable me from my duties to my family, that is my great request; for truly I am totally disabled when I have those pains upon me. However this last fit was not so fierce; as I was indulging to myself, out of great care not to disappoint an afternoon journey into the country, which the company would not make without me, therefore for two or three days till yes-

* Arthur Herbert, created Earl of Torrington, 1689, by King William for his great services: being pressed by King James II. to vote the repeal of the Test, he told the King that he could not do it in honour or in conscience; and though he was poor and had much to lose (having places to the value of 4000*l.* a year) yet he would choose to lose them all, rather than comply. He was accordingly deprived of his commission, and went to Holland to the Prince of Orange.

† Burnet wrote the reasons against repealing the Test.

‡ Henrietta, daughter of Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington and Corke, wife of Lawrence Hide, Earl of Rochester.

§ Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough; he died without issue male, 1697.

‖ Jefferies. ¶ Earl of Sunderland.

terday was past, would not do any thing might increase the pain. It is now over, and I am pretty well this morning; but being uncertain whether you would read this or not, by reason of your journey to Cotenham, I write only to tell you, you have a just title to all my best wishes, and consequently to the best recommendation I can make in my imperfect prayers for you under all hardships upon you. And now I will fold up the Gazettes, and till the holy week is past, bid you adieu, recommending ever me and mine to your thoughts in your choicest hours.

R. RUSSELL.

May, 1687.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THE morning I left London I received a letter from you, dated May 30, which informed me of your good intentions to have seen me at this place, if I could have kept mine of being here a week sooner than I was. To have met at my first coming so pious and so kind a friend would have been an advantage to me I am not at all worthy of, who entertain with so heavy a heart those many and great mercies God still preserves to me his murmuring servant, who am indeed brimful with the memory of that unfortunate and miserable change in my own condition, since I lived regularly here before.

The poor children are well pleased to be a little while in a new place, ignorant how much better it has been, both to me and them; yet I thought I found Rachel not insensible, and I could not but be content with it in my mind. Those whose age can afford them any remembrance, should, methinks, have some solemn thoughts for so irreparable a loss to themselves and family; though after that I would cherish a cheerful temper in them with all the industry I can; for sure we please our Maker best, when we take all his providences with a cheerful spirit.

Lord Camden has sent to see me, but whether I shall see him or no, I cannot tell. I find my time is spent, so will put up the Gazettes, and bid you adieu for this time, ever continuing

Your faithful friend to serve you,

R. RUSSELL.

My sister Alington, her sister, and daughter Alington, and my brother Robert, have made me a visit of two days. I am thankful, though I wished it longer. I hear Mr. Cheek is put from the Tower, and Sir ——Hales* in his place.

Stratton, June 13, 1687.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE just received yours of the 21st; seasonable enough it comes to me, this being the eve of the sad day that ushered in the great calamity of my life; the same day my dear Lord was carried from his house, I entertained the sad assurance of quickly after losing the sight

* Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, had a regiment of foot, and was made Lieutenant of the tower.

of him for ever in this world; what the manner of it will be in the next is dark and unknown to us; it is enough that we shall be happy eternally.

I think you judge amiss, good Doctor, that because those excellent rules and discourses I have by me do not fix me in a better (by a more settled) state of comfort, therefore your presence would not have had some useful influence. Our senses are quick, and a reflection as soon made as an object is presented; also the inconvenience of indulging it is as soon confessed when a reasoning friend is present; but we cannot have recourse to papers, and will not, or cannot, being before prepossessed, recollect by memory, and make application just then. However, Doctor, though I am not cured, my ill is less inveterate than sure it would have been without your pious labours.

I spoke with Mr. Nutt about the printing them, and he put me in mind of the hopes I had given him of the employment; to which I answered, I could not do that till you was in town.

My house is full of company; to-morrow being Sunday, I propose to sanctify it, if my griefs unhallow it not by unjustifiable passions; but having given some hours to privacy in the morning, live in my house as on other days, doing my best to be tolerably composed. It is my first trial; for all these sad years past I have dispensed with the seeing any body, or till late at night; sometimes I could not avoid that without a singularity I do not affect. There are three days I like best to give up to reflection; the day my Lord was parted from his family, that of his trial, and the day he was released from all the evils of this perishing world.*

I thank you again, good Doctor, for your seasonable prayer. It may be this shall be the last letter I send you from hence, though I stay till Monday se'ennight; variety of care, and little affairs 'tis possible may prevent other exercises I stand more inclined to. When I come to Woborne, if no sooner, I will again repeat that I hold myself to be, good Doctor,

Your obliged friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

June 25, 1687.

Miss Montague is with me.

I hope breeding prevents my seeing my sister.

THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO LADY RUSSELL.

I DID not expect so many thanks, my Lady Russell, as I find in your letter by Mr. Dykvelt, who has said so much to me of all the marks of kindness you shewed both to the Prince and myself, that I should be ashamed not to have answered it sooner, but that you know one is not always provided with an opportunity of sending letters safely, of which indeed I am as much to seek now as ever, but hoping Mrs. Herbert will sooner find one than I, I resolve to

* Lord Russell was arrested June 26, tried July 13, and beheaded July 21, 1683.

leave this with her, not knowing when it may come to you, but whenever it does, pray do me the justice to believe, that I have all the esteem for you which so good a character deserves, as I have heard given you by all people both before I left England and since I have been here. And have had as much pity as any could have of the sad misfortunes you have had, with much more compassion when they happen to persons who deserve so well, and yet those are they we often see the most unlucky in the world, as you find by experience; but I hope your son will live to be a comfort to you, which, under God, I believe will be the best you can have. As for myself, I can only assure both you and my Lord of Bedford, that I should be very glad it lay in my power to do you any kindness; the same I can answer for the Prince; and indeed you have expressed so much for us both to Mr. Dykvelt, that if it were possible it would increase the esteem I had before for you, which I shall be very glad of any occasion to shew, and more to be better known to you, that I might persuade you myself of the desire I have that you should be one of my friends. MARIE.

Honslerdyke, July 12, 1687.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

GOOD Doctor, I can still but do the same thing over again, thank you infinitely for all your good deeds to me. I must observe to you how kindly Providence (I will imitate you, and not call it chance) disposes of your letters to my hands. I read yours of July 11 on the 20th, the eve of that day—I will not suffer my hand to write, fatal, because the blow struck on it was that which gave eternal rest to my beloved friend. I do not contend on these days with frail nature, but keep her as innocent as I can. And now having laid all my sorrows at the foot of the throne of grace, I allow some of the remaining portion of my time to what disposes me best to cool my thoughts and entertain a tired mind, writing where I may do it freely; where my weakness shall be pitied, not censured; yet I shall be short, being forced to admit an interruption, not a welcome one this day; Lady Sunderland* in her way to Windsor making a visit, which I refused not in the afternoon to receive. To my best I took the method you offered me, and I must tell you, that when I came to that part of your letter, where you put the case, if my heart tells me so, as indeed it does, I made a full stop, and would read no farther till I had considered, and accused myself: then I compared how you had stated it for me, and found it just the same in matter. I had made him my idol though I did not know it; loved man too much, and God too little; yet my constant prayer was not to do so; but not enough fervent I doubt. I will turn the object of my love all I can upon his loved children, and if I may be directed and blessed in

* Lady Sunderland, daughter of George Digby, Earl of Bristol, who, though a Roman Catholic, in 1673, spoke in favour of the Test Bill in general, as proper at that time, declaring himself a Catholic of the church, but not of the court of Rome.

their education, what is it I have to ask in relation to this perishing world for myself? It is joy and peace in believing that I covet, having nothing to fear but sin.

This must find you at Windsor, so my letter shall be the shorter; I know how you will be taken up there. I perceive your business is a friendly charity; it is a happy thing to be going about doing good: may you do so long, Doctor. I hope you will find my sister carrying on a great belly.

I will ever remain, good Doctor,
Your obliged friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL,

July 21, 1687.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR's of the 28th September telling me you will be long enough at the Bath, to be told that you are kindly remembered by your friends, I desire, good Doctor, to be one of those that do so, and esteem myself much obliged to you for taking a portion out of your time (to let me know you thought on me) when it was so precious, as I take time to be to travellers. I wish you all the benefit of the waters you wish yourself; the same I do assure you, Sir, in all other occurrences of your life. It seems I must remit seeing you, as you once kindly intended. When I received your services to them, the Lady and mistress of Herseheath were both here; they left us last Thursday, but I guess you may meet them at London, about the beginning of the term. My sister says she intends but a week's stay. I am in expectation to see my niece Digby in her way to Warwickshire; she sends me word she will dine here, and give me a sight of her little boy. Lord Camden and his Lady have been at Breemen with their cousin Kingston.* I am told the two cousins agree the country is a dull place in winter. I am easily drawn to believe my Lord Gainsborough might be sensible of a change at Titchfield, finding a mistress of it, and remembering those he had known there before; but almost all changes seem strange, yet this world we are so apt to dont upon is a perpetual passing from one thing to another, and rarely to more pleasing objects. But it is our duty to be contented with all—a hard task sometimes, Doctor.

I hear the French King, as a finishing stroke, is preparing an edict which all new converts shall sign; though so weak as to have signed before, yet they must now again, how they have been instructed, and are in their hearts convinced of the doctrine and practice of the Roman church, even to the article of Transubstantiation, that their sufferings have not been for religion, but their disobedience to the King's commands.

Doctor Burnet is outlawed in Scotland, and I am told, a ew days before (he knew it would be so) he invited all

* William Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston, married Anne, eldest daughter to Robert Greville, Lord Brook; and Lord Camden, Wriothesley Baptist (afterward Earl of Gainsborough) married Catharine, eldest daughter to Fulk Lord Brook, Robert's brother.

his friends to dinner, and after that was over took his solemn leave of them, resolving to converse no more with them.*

I can easily and with much satisfaction spend much time with you, but for expedition's sake, having an opportunity to send this by one just going to London, I will add no more than to sign a great truth, that I am,

Your faithful sad friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Oct. 5, 1687.

I have a large bundle of Gazettes can easily be conveyed to London; but then you are at no leisure to read them, so unless you send for them, their resting place will be at Woborne.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

ALTHOUGH your letter, good Doctor, is dated 15th October, I read it not till the 20th, having received that with many others so late, I believe it was past midnight before I had done; yours was not the last neither, for when I had run over my common and impertinent ones (such I term compliments of course or feigned ones), I hastened to yours; indeed you make me greater compliments than any body else; but I have no charge against you for doing so; what they exceed in I must bring the accusation against myself. The near and pleasing concern you make the well being of me and mine to be to you, I believe most hearty and sincere, and kindly engages me to great thankfulness; but amongst your choicest expressions, you are induced to say you could rather envy my condition than pity it, from an opinion of being supported and comforted, with a well-grounded persuasion of my having a right and title to those precious promises, that will give a pleasant and perpetual rest to the weary and heavy laden soul. This, Doctor, is perhaps what you mistake in; and I have led you into the error by speaking too well of my own thoughts or exercises, which are truly all mean, and encompassed with uncomfortable weakness; yet I have not the confusion to reflect I have said any thing from a false glory; I should, if I can discern right, wrong my own heart by it, and that grace of God which disposes me, though in the meanest degree, to ask for, and thirst after such comforts as the world cannot give. What it can give I am most sure I have felt, and experienced them uncertain and perishing; such I will never more (grace assisting) look

* King James II. provoked at Burnet's papers, (viz. Remarks on the Earl of Melfort's Letter to the Scotch Presbyterian Ministers.—Apology for the Church of England.—Reasons against repealing the Test.—Reflections on the Proclamation for Toleration in Scotland.—Reflections on his Majesty's declaration for Liberty of Conscience concerning Religion, &c.) and his making pretensions to a lady of fortune at the Hague, ordered a process against him in Scotland for high treason, which came at last to an outlawry. Burnet published the citation with his answers, and three letters to the Earl of Middleton.—Also an Inquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament, offered by Samuel (Oxon) Parker.

after; and yet I expect a joyful day, after some more mournful ones; and though I walk sadly through the valley of death, I will fear no evil, humbling myself under the mighty hand of God, who will save in the day of trouble: He knows my sorrows and the weakness of my person, I commit myself and mine to Him.

I had, as you guess, Doctor, the satisfaction of seeing Lady Digby, and her prosperous son, and hope she will maintain that house with an honourable and virtuous race. Lord Tiviot has been here two days of this week, full fraught with stories out of Hampshire, some of them too much at the expense of such as must ever have a title to my best wishes, which fetched sighs from me. Yet the beauty of Providence should reconcile us to all sorts of dispensations. I have sent a large packet of Gazettes; and have no other papers, I believe, you have not seen. If I had that which you mention of Remarks upon the Declaration, I have mislaid it, or it is taken away.* Another paper sent me with the letter to the Dissenter, vanished, so that I never read it; that kind of title has kept it in my head ever since. Your curiosity, Doctor, is sure blameless, though very mean are most of the amusements of a life to endure so little a while, as the longest is upon earth.

The result of the matter of Magdalen College is known to you before this, and will be to us here, I hope, to-morrow.†

* *Letter to a Dissenter on the Declaration of Indulgence*, wrote by George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who was made Lord Privy Seal by King William, and died 1695. He wrote also the *Anatomy of an Equivalent*. Reresby says, in 1685, (Nov.) he was dismissed from the office of President of the Council; being generally esteemed a wise man and an excellent subject, the removal of him injected a fear that a change of councils was in consequence to ensue a change of counsellors. He adds, 'I conducted a gentleman to my Lord Halifax to ask his pardon for some things he had been reported to have said against his Lordship; in good policy we ought to suffer no man to be our enemy if we can possibly avoid it, but such was his Lordship's natural disposition, that in the whole course of my life, I never knew a man more ready at all times to forgive, and shall never forget his expression upon this occasion—'Sir, if you did not say the words, I am very glad of it; and even if you did, I am glad you find cause to be of another mind.'

In the reign of James II. many pieces were written for and against Liberty of Conscience; one in 1685, intituled *A short Discourse upon the reasonableness of Men's having a Religion*, &c. by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Ralph says, that on 16th April, 1687, he died in neglect, and almost obscurity, at his house in Yorkshire, the prodigal son of a most rapacious father, who was visited with wealth, beauty, parts, dignity, place, and power, only to shew their eminent insignificancy, when unaccompanied with wisdom and virtue. He had above 30,000*l.* a year at the restoration; at last 2,500*l.* a year was all he had left; much too little for his profuse way of living. He took with him a company of ruffians into Yorkshire, got money from the tenants by force; was guilty of a riot at an inn and died. The family and estate expired in the second generation.—*Oldmixon.*

† The King ordered the Vice-President and Fellows of Mag-

I am glad my sister has the advantage of so good company as yourself in her solitude, so I reckon Windsor now, and suppose her Lord makes frequent visits to London; there I expect to meet you when December is begun, that am,

Your obliged sincere servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Oct. 22, 1687.

We have just heard the very ill news of the Princess's miscarriage. God comfort her, poor Lady.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

IT is a reproach to myself, good Doctor, that I have not once since you went given you this mark of my respect; but it has come to pass, I think, from an invincible necessity; nothing else can excuse it to myself, and that I know will to you, who I believe will not soon accuse me of a crime I intend never to deserve to have laid to my charge. The truth is, Sir, the great affair you know me engaged in takes up both my time and thoughts. Many difficulties are met with by the manner of the settlements, and yet not got over: one week more I hope will make me guess at the issue.

This day Miss Noel is made a wife, and my girls are but just come from the ceremony; I should have spoke properly to have said yesterday, for I hear it strike one o'clock, yet I had company would sit to see my girls come home; and I could not leave this to be written to-morrow, for I am to be in my coach at seven o'clock to dine with my sister Montague at Windsor.

The news most talked of is, the King has sent to call over the English forces out of Holland; the French papers will tell the rest. The town is full of what you or I have little to do with, balls and rejoicings.* It is time to close this from,

Your faithful friend to serve you to my power,
R. RUSSELL.

Jan. 22, 1687-8.

One o'clock in the morning.

dalen College, Oxford, to choose one Farmer their President; they elected Dr. John Hough (afterward Bishop); the ecclesiastical commissioners, with Cartwright (the time-serving Bishop of Chester) at their head, declared the election void; then the King sent a second mandate for them to choose Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, (who wrote for the repeal of the Test, a man covetous, ambitious, and proud, and seemed, says Burnet, to have no other sense of religion but a politic interest); on their refusal, sentence of expulsion was pronounced against the Fellows by visitors the King appointed, and by the ecclesiastical commissioners they were disabled to hold any church preferments.—*Salmon.*

* On the 23d Dec. 1687, a proclamation issued, appointing the 15th January to be observed as a thanksgiving for the Queen's being with child, within the bills of mortality; and the 29th of January in the rest of the churches of England.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

JUST after I had retrieved time enough to scribble to you, and enclose some French papers, I received yours of 24th January, which though you would not term it such, I made as a sort of kind reproof, and indeed I had a guilt upon me, that it might justly be so, for I am ready to own I have received obligations enough from Doctor Fitzwilliam to make me careful to give him the mean content of such letters as mine. But in earnest I am in a great and constant hurry, from my careful endeavours to do my duty to my child, and to my friend, sister Margaret Russell,* which, by God's grace, I design to do as cordially as to my children. I meet with many difficulties in both; yet in my girl's, there is no stop but such as the former settlements cause, which from any we can learn of yet, will hinder a conclusion till he is sixteen.

I thank you, good Doctor, for your kind offer, which, whether I accept or not, I am sure I shall do all in a kind respect to you, and preserve the sense of your esteem to me and mine, and shall be sorry if I make not use of it in the way you desire I would take liberty to do.

I trust, if I perfect this great work, my careful endeavours will prosper; only the Almighty knows what the event shall be; but sure it is a glimmering of light I did not look for in my dark day. I do often repeat in my thoughts, the children of the just shall be blessed: I am persuaded their father was such; and if my heart deceive me not, I intend the being so, and humbly bless God for it.

I can send you no good news; the best (in my opinion at least) is, if true what some say, we shall have no war, nor parliament. Here was lately great talk of setting out twenty sail to join the French fleet; many are divided about a parliament, whether one shall be called or not. My boy said at dinner, it is a year of great wars, marriages, and robbing. To make good the second, it is reported Lord Halifax is treating for the Lord Kent's son, and Lady Essex for Lord Carlisle's.† Something of both I fancy there is. Some murders here have been, which no doubt have reached you before this will. But there is a private piece of news I know you will be sorry for. Poor Lord Gainsborough was seized on Tuesday was se'ennight with a dead palsy all on one side; his speech returned quickly, and the last news was, he was much mended, had stirred his leg, but not his arm, and my niece writ they feared he did not see with the eye on that side, but were loth to ask, for fear of disheartening him: if we hear he has passed a week, I hope he may recover to some degree.

Queen Dowager's‡ resolutions for Portugal cannot be new to you; it occasions much talk; her humour, and way

* Lady Rachel's intended marriage, and Lord Stafford's addresses to Lady Margaret Russell.

† Charles Howard, afterward Earl of Carlisle married Lady Elizabeth Capel, only surviving daughter of Arthur, Earl of Essex.

‡ Catharine, Queen Dowager of Charles II., did not go to Portugal till March 30, 1692.

of living not warning any to suspect she would retire out of the world. Lord Oxford has at last his regiment taken from him.* It is said the King told him, he did not do it in regard to his religion, but his factiousness of mind, for his majesty would have the test. The Queen goes on prosperously; has seen two plays at Whitehall. Now you have all the reports I can make, I take my leave, and turn you to the Gazettes. Here are some pamphlets, but I know not if you care to have them sent this way, and perhaps you have them already; as reflections on Fagell's letter; also reflections on the relation of the English reformation lately printed at Oxford.†

I am, good Doctor,
Your faithful friend,
R. RUSSELL.

Feb. 10, 1687-8.

The late audience at court was new; Dominicans in their habits as ambassadors from Cologne. Corker‡ that was tried, is the chief, and is to live here at St. James's or Lincoln's-inn-fields; for the Papists have bought Lord Barkley's in the one place, and Lady Bath's in the other.

PRINCESS OF ORANGE§ TO LADY RUSSELL.

I HOPE my Lady Russell will do me the justice to believe I would not have kept three of the letters so long without answering, had I not wanted an opportunity of sending mine. But I hope Mr. Russell who brought me one, will find a way to send this to you, for I can stay no longer from desiring you to make no more excuses for writing.

* Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died in 1703, without male issue.

† Fagell's letter contained the Prince and Princess of Orange's sentiments and objections against the repealing the Test.

‡ James Corker, a (Benedictine) Monk, was tried for being concerned in the popish plot, but acquitted in July 1679. *Salmas.*

§ A Princess more conspicuous for her personal accomplishments of understanding and disposition, than her external dignity. She died 28th December, 1694, in her 33d year. Burnet says, she was a singular instance of conjugal affection, insomuch that when it was put to her, what she intended the Prince should be, if she came to the crown; her answer was, that the rule and authority should be his, for she only desired that he would obey the command of 'Husbands, love your wives;' as she should do that of 'Wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things.' King William told Archbishop Tennison, that he could not but grieve since he had lost a wife, who in seventeen years had never been guilty of an indiscretion. She had no relish for those indolent diversions, which are too common consumers of most people's time, and which make as great wastes on their minds, as they do on their fortunes. She was a perfect example of conjugal love, chastity, and obedience. By her example, it became as much a fashion among the ladies of quality to work, as it had been formerly to be idle. She thought it a barbarous diversion which resulted from the misfortunes, imperfections, or follies of others. She had read the best books in English, French, and Dutch, which were almost equally familiar to her—but gave the most of her retired hours to the reading of the Scriptures, and books relating to them.

If you knew the esteem I have for you, you would be persuaded your letters could not be too troublesome; and since you will make me believe it is some satisfaction to you, I shall desire you to continue, for I assure you I am extreme glad to contribute any way I can to that. I hope this match of your daughter's will afford you all the joy and comfort you can desire. I do not question but you have made a very good choice; and since I wish so well to my Lord Devonshire, I cannot but be glad it is his son, believing you will have taught your daughter, after your own example, to be so good a wife, that Lord Cavendish cannot choose but be very happy with her. I assure you, I wish it with all my heart, and if that could contribute any thing to your content, you may be sure of as much as it is possible for you to have; and not only my wishes, but upon all occasions, I shall be glad to shew more than by words, the esteem I have for you.

MARIE.

Hague, February 13, 1687-8.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE read your letter enough to know your thoughts upon several matters, but not as I would do deliberately, or to examine how heartily I join with you in every point; nor will I defer writing till I do; though I never had less time (if so little) at my own disposal; so that unless I dispatch this, it is very likely I may delay till next post. I meet with hard difficulties in the lawyers' hands; we are forced to be with a great many of that profession, which is very troublesome at this time to me, who would fain be delivered from them, conclude my affair, and so put some period to that inroad, methinks I make in my intended manner of living the rest of my days on earth. But I hope my duty shall always prevail above the strongest inclination I have. I believe to assist my yet helpless children, is my business; which makes me take many dinners abroad, and do of that nature many things, the performance of which is hard enough to a heavy and weary mind: but yet I bless God I do it.

Letters came out of Holland on Wednesday night, which, in as respectful terms as is possible in that case, refuse to send the troops, saying, they have cost them a great deal, they are threatened on all hands, and know of no capitulation which obliges them to send them, the King being quiet at home and abroad. But if his Majesty had occasion, they would soon send them, and many more to his aid; and for such officers as would retire from them they were at liberty.

I have been told the King should say, Amsterdam had better intentions, but the parts of the States prevailed, who, perhaps, had a mind to quarrel, but seemed to imply he had none. This piece of news I would insert, though I have a man of business by me, whom I must speak to when I have closed this.

Sister Alington has sold her house to Lord Bristow, so is kept still in town. Lady Manchester was married last

Wednesday to a fourth son* of George Montague, a man of twenty-four; the same was said to have writ the answer to the Hind and Panther. Lord Gainsborough is better. I have writ your compliments this morning to sister Montague.

Next week you shall have the letters you ask for, and the Reflections on the Reformer. I do not justify the sharpness of them; though I wish him very well that is guilty of the fault, the other justly deserves it.

17 February, 1687-8.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

GOOD Doctor, take my good will in good part; if I were not mightily employed this morning I should not send you so short a letter, but I inclose the Gazettes. I know no news worth sending down; the talk is, three new regiments shall be raised; Lord Salisbury and Abergavenny are talked of. A new memorial is sent into Holland concerning the forces. Rachel's affair is creeping forward; my next, I believe, will tell you more. It is not very considerable, but it is very true, that I am, Doctor Fitzwilliam's faithful And kind friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

March 2, 1687-8.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOU are the most encouraging, Doctor, I ever knew. If I went fast in that affair which perhaps takes up my thoughts too much, I believe you would seek and find some parallel to comfort me in my proceedings, which I am apt enough to think are done with a very poor conduct. Certainly to work alone, as it is said, so it often leaves one doubtful, but none can do more than they are fitted for; my will is with the best I am sure, and my hope is great that I am assisted with the best Director of our minds, and Disposer of all events: so I go quietly on, desire great diligence in all my actions, and expect by that slowness you so well approve of, to discover at one time what I cannot in another, that so I may complete this great work with as few errors as I can reasonably expect to make. I have a well bred Lord to deal with, yet inflexible, if the point is not to his advantage. I am to meet him this morning at eleven o'clock at the lawyer's chambers, proposing to give a finishing stroke to the agreement between us, and then the deeds will be drawn in a few more weeks, I hope, and this matter perfected. That of Lady Margaret is to Lord Strafford. God knows there are many exceptions, but the gentleman is a worthy, honest

* Charles Montagu, afterward Earl of Halifax, descended from a younger branch of the Manchester family; he had the reputation of a fine taste, and of being master of polite literature, as well as an encourager of men of parts and learning. His skill as a speaker and manager were unquestionable; he had a part in writing the British Merchant, in opposition to D. De Mercator.—

man, and made an indulgent husband to the Earl of Darby's daughter. He is afflicted with stone and gout.*

I could not have imagined the accident of the penknife would have proved so bad a business; you must owe it to your own neglect; and your happy and profitable reflections upon it, to the goodness of God.

I now send you the book you would have; there are two sheets more as answers, or resolutions to the Bishop of Oxford: one sheet treats of idolatry; the other of transubstantiation, more loosely writ than the first; the party, I hope, stands corrected. I cannot yet procure a sight of them, for more time than I just took to read them, the bulk of them being seized. But there is a Treatise of the nature of Idolatry, which eclipses all others, as the wise say; if you want it I will send it next week; as also a Parliamentum Pacificum† which is hugely cried up.

You know my appointment, and while I am thus employed have something to do to remember it. I am undrest at ten o'clock. Good Doctor,

I am ever your faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Nothing but one so unthoughtful as myself could forget to thank you for your cheeses; when eating will not remember one, I know not what can. All our supping company are your servants.

16 March, 1667-8.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I CANNOT omit this, because I know I shall gain true, and the best advantages by it; what is our own interest we are seldom wanting to ourselves in. That which I expect from you, you will know when I tell you Rachel is now ill of the measles, which in your best hours, I desire you will remember, with praises for her hopeful condition; it is the third day, so I hope the danger is over, but bad effects so often follow afterward, my fears still continue; yet I trust God will direct and bless my care. I will add no more, but in haste sign a truth very heartily, that I am Your constant friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

22d March, 1677-8.

* William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, married first, Lady Mary Stanley, daughter of James Earl of Derby, who, and Lord Strafford's father, were both beheaded; the latter was the greatest subject in power, not less in wisdom, and little less in fortune at that time in the three kindoms.—*Brit. Comp.* His second wife was Henrietta Du Roy before-mentioned. The match with Lady Margaret Russell did not succeed. (He died in 1695, without issue). She was married to Admiral Russell.

† *Parliamentum Pacificum*, or the happy Union of King and People in an healing Parliament, asserting Fagel's letter to be a forgery, or at least not approved by the Prince and Princess. Burnet confuted this in his Reflections on Parliamentum Pacificum.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

It is so late before I sit down to write, that I would let it alone, if I did not mistrust Doctor Fitzwilliam has concern enough for me to be uneasy, if I do not tell him how Rachel does, after having given him the report of her being ill of the measles. I bless God for it (with all the powers of my soul) she is very well freed from that distemper, and yesterday began to purge. I continue yet parted from the other two, but, so they are well, I can endure the absence as well as any body; no more, in this unkind world, considering how to please myself but them, and intent upon their good, which is the end I hope I live for.

My sister Alington went hastily down yesterday morning, upon hearing her eldest daughter had the measles; I wish it proves no more, for should it be the small-pox, I shall be afraid for herself, who has never had them, and I doubt her suddenness of temper would make her go to the child, she being very fond. She promised us she would not; if she considers, sure she ought not, for her skill is none, and her life irreparable to the poor girls, and she has a skilful friend by her, whom she dares trust; and then she can look after the other children. Poor Doctor Cligat's wife is very ill of the small-pox at Doctor Sharp's house, whither she came as soon as her husband died. The Dean is removing, having never had them. I know no news but who has the measles or small-pox. I have sent you a book cried up to be very well writ, but which has offended the States in a high measure; so much, as it is said, they have desired the licence to be called in. Doctor Burnet, as I hear the King says, has writ a sheet of answer, the most seditious he ever writ yet; nobody but the King has it. They speak as if the Queen's going to Windsor began to be doubtful.

I am, Good Doctor,
Your faithful friend and servant,
R. Russell.

April 6th, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

Though I know how very little my letters are worth, yet I regret you had none last Friday, because you looked for it: I meant to have writ the day before, doubting my want of time on Good Friday, yet my little affairs and care came so fast upon me, I did it not; if I had had a pleasing answer to have given you in respect of your Magdalen College-man, I had not failed.

They tell me they are resolved to send a gentleman that is their chaplain now, who they give a great character to. As to Lord Exeter's son, I know little of him, did once hear a gentleman say my Lord had such thoughts, but never afterward. For some reasons I will not set down here, I do not think it proper for me to meddle there.

The Princess has miscarried, and the Queen much indisposed, but is better they say. It is a very barren time

for news, except what relates to transactions beyond sea, and that the French or English Gazettes inform.

I am full of small affairs, and called away by a gentleman's coming to me.

I am faithfully, good Doctor,

Your friend to serve you to my power,

R. RUSSELL.

19 April, 1688.

THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO LADY RUSSELL.

I CANNOT let Mr. Russell* go back without answering the letter I received by him, and assuring you, my Lady Russell, that you shall never want any from me, since you will have me believe they are of any satisfaction to you. I am sure I may learn from yours to consider God's providence in such a manner as to make it easy. I hope you will have no more occasion to exercise that submission as you have for all that comes from him in such sad manner as formerly, but that the happiness of your daughters, and the success of all else you undertake, may give you all the content you can desire. I should be very glad I could any way contribute to any thing of that kind, or have an opportunity of shewing how much I desire to be your friend. MARIE.

Hague, May 21, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

WHEN I tell you, good Doctor, the errand of this paper (that is the immediate one), you will not expect it should be long. It is to tell you my child was married yesterday.* I hope the prospect is good, and God's Holy Spirit

* Admiral Russell.

* Lady Rachel Russell (daughter of Lord William and Lady Russell) was married to Lord William Cavendish, son of William, who became Earl of Devonshire in 1684, who had been a true friend to Lord Russell. Burnet says, he had the courage of an hero, with an unusual proportion of wit and knowledge, and a peculiar softness in his exterior deportment. He had been fined 30,000l. for striking Col. Culpepper in the verge of the court: King James offered to excuse the fine, but it had no effect on that brave and generous nobleman; he chose rather to expose himself and fortune to the rigour of the court, than to desert the interest of his country in such a time of peril (1688), so he joined in the undertaking with great readiness and resolution.—*Oldmixon.* *Ralph* says, he was told, that soon after the severe sentence was passed on Lord Cavendish, the Countess, his mother, who had long absented herself from court, made her appearance in the circle, and having acquainted his Majesty that she came to pay her son's fine, presented him with an acknowledgment under the hand of K. Charles I. that he stood indebted to the father for the like sum that was now to be squeezed out of the son. In 1694 he was created Duke, the preamble to his patent setting forth, 'That the King and Queen could do no less for one who had deserved the best of them—one who, in a corrupted age, and striking into the basest flattery, had constantly retained the manners of the ancients, and

has been my director in this whole affair. I do not ask your prayers; I know I have had them, and have them still. Dean Sharp performed the office; and now I take leave for this time; it is the only letter I shall write to-day, I guess, being yet in some hurry. We all dine at Lord Devonshire's to-day; one week more will set me at leisure, I trust, to consider of this sad season of the year; to me, though sadly, not unusefully, I trust in God.

I am your faithful friend, R. RUSSELL.

22 June, 1688.

Lady Devonshire interrupted me yesterday morning as I was just going to put up my letter, to make his present of a pair of diamond pendants, and staid so long I forgot this letter till it was too late, so I *send it now by the post.*

LADY RUSSELL TO MR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR congratulations are very welcome, good Doctor, to me, and I will give them to my young woman, to whom I undertake they will be so. I trust in the mercy of God for his blessing on her, even to the measure you wish them. We have all the promising hopes that are (I think) to be had; of those I reckon riches the least, though that ingredient is good if we use it rightly. We found difficulty enough in getting things dispatched to have the day of marriage when it was, and if it had not been on that day, I had asked Doctor Fitzwilliam to have taken a journey, for our Dean would have been gone: but my Lord Devon hurried it off, being in great haste to go to the Bath, and had the writings, sent but on Tuesday-night out of town to be signed by Lord Exeter* and Lord Gainsborough, here again on Thursday morning early enough for them to be married, because we could get no licence to do it in the afternoon. I do not justly remember any expression I have used that intimated my opinion of your hard thoughts of that state, which undoubtedly affords the sweetest comforts of life, or the bitterest sorrow of it. No indeed, Doctor, I have only thought you had respect for a single state of life, when persons remained so by choice; and all your part in the course of your life, I have ever considered as acted and directed by true piety.

As early as my mournful heart can, I will pass over those sad days, which at the return of the year, will, let me struggle all I can, set more lively than at other times,

would never suffer himself to be moved either by the insinuations or the threats of a deceitful court; but equally despising both, like a true asserter of liberties, stood always for the laws; and we advising with him how to shake off that tyranny, he, with many other Peers, drawn over to us by his example and advice, gave us the greatest assistance towards gaining a most absolute victory without blood, and so restoring the ancient rights, religion, &c.' William, his son, succeeding in 1701, Queen Anne conferred on him his father's places of dignity and trust, with this most gracious expression—'That she had lost a loyal subject and a good friend in his father, but did not doubt to find them both again in the son.'—*British Compendium.*

* John Cecil, Earl of Exeter, married Anne, daughter to William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, as Edward Earl of Gainsborough did Lady Russel's sister.

sad objects before my sight; but the reviving hope of that immortal life my dear friend is already possessed of, is my best support.

This very solemnity has afforded me, alas! many a thought I was forced to check with all my force, they making me too tender; though in retirement they are pleasant: and that way I can indulge myself in at present. Sure, if departed souls know what we do, he approves of what I have done, and it is a reward upon his children, for his patience, and so entire submission during his sufferings.

I will keep this paper as long as I can, to give you some report from Westminster.*

I learn nothing; and so will close it by signing myself

Your constant friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Southampton-house, June 29, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

WHETHER I say little or find time to say more, I am not easy in my mind if I do not seal a paper up to good Doctor Fitzwilliam once a week; and if I examine justly, I believe it may appear more my interest than I am apt to think myself guilty of, for it is a sort of trading I get extremely by, and the income it brings is very valuable to me. I know your next letter will be particularly so, and indeed your friendship is very remarkable in it, that you carry times and seasons in your mind purely on account to do me good, if that is to be done. I shall expect it, and use it as a help, and part of my best entertainment, in these my most sad days. I cannot but own there is a sort of secret delight in the privacy of one of those mournful days; I think, besides, a better reason, one is, that I do not tie myself up as I do on other days; for, God knows, my eyes are ever ready to pour out marks of a sorrowful heart, which I shall carry to the grave, that quiet bed of rest.

I shall deliver all your compliments. I find they must wait one other life for that estate, and be content with a legacy of 200l. at present to buy mourning.

The French papers will give you more news than I can write, unless of so late a date as Wednesday, when the two Judges Holloway and Powell were put out: who were such cross fellows as not to suffer six or twelve charters, that were to be destroyed that morning, to be so, putting by the consideration to the next term, so they lie undetermined.† There were four Judges; two drew one way,

* The seven Bishops tried for petitioning to be excused from reading the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and acquitted, viz. 1. Sancroft of Canterbury; 2. Loyd of St. Asaph; 3. Turner of Ely; 4. Lake of Chichester; 5. Ken of Bath and Wells; 6. White of Peterborough; 7. Trelawny of Bristol. The 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, afterward refused to take the oaths to King William.

† In less than a week after the Bishops were acquitted, the King struck Holloway and Powell off the list of Judges, as a public mark of his displeasure.—*Ralph.* Perhaps their want of compliance in the affair of the charters, was partly the cause of their being dismissed.

two the other; and so no judgment could be given. There are several conjectures concerning the Bishops, but I write only matter of fact: and therefore say nothing of any new converts are like to be, only that the Lord President is one, and has carried the torch, and asked pardon for his heresy. Lady Essex's daughter was married yesterday to the Lord Carlisle's son, a young bride, like mine at home. Mrs. Alington has been in town, I hear, for two or three days, but I saw her not; she is gone down with Lady Dorset to Knowls, Lord Dorset's house, near Tunbridge. I am called away. Sir,

Your obliged friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

July 6, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

GOOD Doctor, my careful attendance on my young couple at London, kept me in so perpetual a hurry, that I had not my mean ordinary comprehension in things. For an instance to you, I could not by your last of the 5th find where you were; from home I saw, but did not see the W. before the date, which I do not wonder at from the badness of my eyes, and reading hastily; but I do, that by your discourse in it, I should not find you at Windsor, but so it was, I did not, nor guessed at it, till sister Montague told me at nine o'clock at night you were there. I did as soon resolve to send you a line or two, but was defeated; company I found at home great store, and business, when rid of them; so that having no time my own all day, when I heard it strike two o'clock I went to bed, hoping for a moment in the morning: but though I rise at five I was mistress of none; at half an hour past six was to be in the coach, and which I was the more careful to be, because Lord Bedford, who went earlier, would stay dinner for me; we drove so well he did not, and that night, I bless God, we got all well to this place. The pensive quiet I hope for here, I think, will be very grateful to my wearied body and mind; yet when I contemplate the fruits of the trial and labour of these last six months, it brings some comfort to my mind, as an evidence that I do not live only to lament my misfortunes, and be humbled by those heavy chastisements I have felt, and must for ever in this life press me sorely. That I have not sunk under the pressure, has been I hope in mercy, that I might be better fitted for my eternal state; and form the children of a loved husband before I go hence. With these thoughts I can be hugely content to live; and the rather as the clouds seem to gather and threaten storms; though God only knows how I may acquit myself, and what help I may be, or what example I shall give to my young creatures; I mean well towards them, if I know my heart. I wish I could advise you substantially, to the end you ask it for about a lawyer. I know few, and made use of but one, who appears to me an ingenious and honest man; it is Mr. Evers of Lincoln's-inn, but he is so exceeding full of business, it makes him slow to dispatch; he seems to me to be a man of integrity, and I think not a High-churchman

in his principles. I give the hint, that if you should happen to converse with him, you may know the better how to do it without distaste.

You caution me to mollify, by a right construction, any expression of yours that may be hardly worded: you need not do it, for if at any time there should be cause (as I know none) I shall not fail to do as you desire, who in all things will endeavour to appear

Your most grateful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

July 19, 1688.

If you call here, you will be very welcome.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY ALINGTON.

I PERCEIVE, sister, you are very tender in regard to the persons of others, but rigid to your own self, or you would never imagine a remaining guilt where I fancy there was never any; for I can either allow myself to think my brother in some fault, or have such a difference to your judgment as to believe there was none any where. However it was, my request was not scorned, and so my end was served, and I am yours with great respect, and very sorry you have had any new interruption in your health; I learn from my Lord Bedford it was accidental, by putting ice to a wrong use. I take it to be an ingredient almost as dangerous in a family as ratsbane, servants being so ill judges of its use. The good consequence of country air, I believe, would be as much advantageous to you, if you would take it, as we shall find it: the season is temperate and pleasant. The rest and pensive quiet of it is very grateful to me, whose body nor mind is fitted for the hurry of the last six months; and I wish I may so profit of the time I may make my own here, as to repair in some measure my want then, by being so busy in worldly matters. Yet it was such a duty, and in appearance I was so blessed in it, that this reflection was sometimes a refreshment to me, that I did not live only to grieve at, and be humbled, for those heavy chastisements my soul has felt and must still feel, till my eternal rest, where we shall weep nor sorrow no more. I am so apt to exceed all bounds when I let myself loose on some subjects, that nothing can recover me, but a short breaking off, which I will do with this assurance of my being,

Your humble servant and sister,

R. RUSSELL.

August 25, 1688.

DR. TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

HONOURED MADAM,

I RECEIVED yours the night before I was going for Tunbridge, at my return from whence I did fully design to have sent a line or two to have inquired after the welfare of your Ladyship and your children; but I see it is in vain to contend with a goodness which doth always prevent the most forward of your friends and servants. I am

now newly returned from thence, where I left the good Princess very well, and I think much better than ever I saw her. That very evening I parted from your Ladyship at the Tabernacle, I received by two messengers, two letters from my wife, who in the first told me she feared my child was dying, which troubled me much; in the other that she was perfectly well, which amazed me more. Thus it was—when the child was grown very weak, all on the sudden there gushed from her head down her nose with great violence a good quantity of water, which brought along with it a pretty big piece of cork, which either the child herself, or one of her little brothers, had thrust up into her nose, where it had remained above six weeks; by the stoppage and pain whereof the child was extremely wasted, but from the moment it came away was at perfect ease; so soon can God when he pleases turn our mourning into joy. I trouble your Ladyship with a more particular account of this, because you are pleased to be concerned for me; and your advice to leave off syringing, which I told your Ladyship did always put the child into grievous agonies, was by God's good providence very happy for the child, because it would probably have forced up the cork so far that it could not have been got down.

I came to town on purpose two or three days after, to have prevented your Ladyship's farther trouble of searching out the papers, for which I most humbly thank you, and have no occasion now to call for them. But I found your Ladyship gone the day before; and now it is time to come to your letter, and to tell your Ladyship how glad I am to hear that all your family are well, and that you meet with some rest after your toil and labour in a business, from which I heartily pray that you and your good daughter may reap all the comfort and satisfaction that you can wish; and that the present appearances of things seem so fairly to promise. But I need not tell to your Ladyship how little reckoning is to be made of any of the comforts of this world. All our hopes but those of another world, are built upon uncertainty and vanity. Till we come to the regions above, we shall never be out of the reach of storms and tempests. Thither let us always be aspiring in our minds, and pressing forward towards that blessed state. But why do I say this to one that hath a much more lively sense of these things?

I pray God to preserve my Lord Cavendish in his travels from the hazards of all kinds to which he is likely to be exposed, and to return him to you and to his excellent lady greatly improved in all true, noble, and virtuous qualities. My mind doth presage much happiness to you in him; I am sure I earnestly wish it. I will not forget your commands of congratulation when I see my Lord. As for my friend,* who is so mindful in the midst of his prosperity of his old friends, I beg of your Ladyship, when you have an opportunity, to let him know, that I have a true sense of his constant friendship. For the paper he mentions I believe it is well received generally on both

* Supposed to be Doctor Fitzwilliam.

sides.* For men's heats are much allayed, and they have now patience to hear of their faults, if they be told them in a civil way, without anger and ill-will, as that paper does with great skill, considering the nicety and tenderness of the subject. So that, if it hath not fully pleased both, it hath the good fortune to have provoked neither. It is too much according to my mind for me to be fit to commend it. I will only say this of it, that it is both very artificial, and very honest—two things which seldom meet together.

I ought now to make a long apology for this long trouble I have given you, but I will not, in excuse of one fault, commit another.

I pray God to preserve you and yours, and to send us a good meeting at your return to London. In the mean time, and for ever, I must remain,

Honoured Madam,
Your Ladyship's obliged,
And most humble servant,
JO. TILLOTSON.

Canterbury, Sept. 6, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD CAVENDISH.

I DESIRE this may assure Lord Cavendish he had furnished the last post with the most agreeable entertainment I can receive by it, since I can have no better content in this world than to have your Lordship confirm my hope that you are pleased with your so near relation to us here, that you believe us kind to you, and value our being so.

There is nothing that is tender, or of service to your person, which it does not engage me to, with a passion no words can tell you, but my actions will, if ever I have an opportunity to do it.

Your news is of great importance to the public concerns, and it is to my private ones that you believe me very well pleased that I can sign this with the title of,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble servant,
And affectionate mother,
R. RUSSELL.

Oct. 5, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

IF you could, good Doctor, see the letter I left in my closet at London, it would be a demonstration to you, that no hasty or irregular motion puts my friends out of my mind, for though I failed in the executive part, yet I was not careless in that took up more of my time. I very formally writ my letter, laid by the Gazettes, and then, as in our best endeavours we often do spoil all, by some defect in the close, so did I now, by forgetting to give my letter to be sent to you.

I was but two whole days in town, went on Saturday, was early back on Tuesday, found all here well, as I bless God I left them, and all at London in amaze, all talking

* Sam. Johnson's Way to Peace among all Protestants, &c.

of the same matter; and I believe there is no considerable change since, for it was then agreed the Prince of Orange could not be ready for sailing till 8th day. This sort of weather and wind keeps the apprehensions at a distance, and if it continues any time, may possibly disperse them altogether; but it is known to God alone what shall be the event of these things. We may wonder, and heartily say, his ways are unsearchable, and past finding out.

Those are happy, who in the midst of confusions can faithfully believe the end of all shall be rest; and if we can evidence to our hearts, we have a title according to the promises of the gospel, to that happy rest, what can be a very uneasy disturbance? Nothing should be, I am certain; yet we find pretences for it. I think I fear not for myself, but I am afraid what risk my children may run; and if that were not, our weak faith would furnish us out with some other reason to justify, as we fancy, our too great carefulness. I will do what I can not to exceed, and so bid you adieu for this time.

Oct. 5, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

SUCH letters as yours, Sir, do not disturb my quiet, but quiet my disturbance. Before this, I guess, if mine of the 5th does not miscarry one way, as that will tell you another did another way, you will know I wanted not yours to draw your return from me. I forgot, when I writ on Friday, to put up the Gazettes, nor are they entire now, for my journey to London put me and them out of order, and all of late date are wanting. The winds keep them back, as it does, as the King says, the Dutch at a distance from us. Thus we are experimenting how much God can restrain the spirit of Princes, and by holding in the winds, disappoint the greatest, and doubtless, as they think, the wisest laid designs.

What has passed between the Bishops and the King, is, we are told, a secret; but things are coming about into their old channel, above any expectation you or I had when we met last.*

I have scarce had time to run over your philosophical lecture, but I suppose if I had, or when I have read it at more leisure over, I shall not find myself very well furnished to use many words in my answer; now I have none, for my letters are called for, and the company come into my chamber, which I keep for a great cold. I have been complaining in most of my letters, how near to nothing I am when this poor carcase is diseased, so very feeble in my mind and body; but I mend my opinion of myself now I read how listless you are upon such another occasion.

* On Sept. 30, the Bishop of London's suspension was taken off. Oct. 3, the King having desired the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, nine Bishops attended him with ten articles, as the best means to restore his affairs. In consequence of which, the Ecclesiastical Commission was dissolved, popish magistrates were displaced, and an order for restoring Magdalen College to its rights, and a proclamation for restoring the charters of corporations.—Salmon.

I am glad yours is near over; mine is but begun, nor would my letter be more, I think, if I had time to enlarge. The *Anatomy of an Equivalent* is the newest good paper I know; I have been lent it only to read, and have it not any more.*

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD CAVENDISH.

MY LORD,

As yours writ 16th Oct. has lain by me many days, so I may say, and justify the saying it, that I have as often been desirous to tell you how welcome these marks of respect and remembrance are to me; but I will not by insignificant letters make often waste of so precious a thing as time is, which, if misspent, can never be recovered, since it can never be recalled; and if employed as such by you, as I doubt not but it is, you are then a gainer by every moment of it, to the honour and pleasure, I trust, of many years: and that you may do so, and then be so rewarded for your ingenious labour, you have the strongest wish of my affectionate heart, and constant prayers to the great Dispenser of all good to us his creatures.

I am glad that in your solitude (for such I esteem your stay at Brussels) you have met with so good a companion as Lord Kingston. I resist my will when I do not urge you &c.

But finding you are going farther from us, I must tell you how concernedly my prayers and best wishes attend you. Your return would be a time of more sensible content to me, and yet if I were to dispose of your person, what you are to do should be my choice for you; for to live well in the world, it is for certain most necessary to know the world well. We are under the same protection in all places where we can be. It is very true the circumstances of our beings do sometimes require our better diligence and watch over ourselves, than at other times; and it is now going to be so with your Lordship: you are launching into the ocean; if you steer wisely, you secure a calm for your whole life; you will discern the vanity of all the pomps and glories of this world; how little intrinsic good there is in the enjoyment! and how uncertain it is how long we shall enjoy that good there is in them! And by observation, you will be made sensible how much below the dignity of human nature it is to gain one's point, let the matter be what it will, by any mean or insincere way.

Having proved all, I hope you will choose the best, and take under your care the whole compass of virtue and religion.

Oct. 1688.

* Of the *Equivalent*, Ralph says, when the King undertook to soften the Clergy with the promise of an Equivalent, he as effectually deceived himself as he designed to deceive them. Churchmen can have no equivalent for wealth, power, dignity, and importance; and they knew by themselves, that if the priests and partisans of Rome ever procured themselves a legal establishment in the constitution, they would not bear the shadow of a rival. The Marquis of Halifax employed his excellent pen against the Equivalent.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

My good intention has been hid from you, good Doctor, by my letter, &c. failing to come to your hands, which I sent the 21st of this month, as I find it upon record in my noted paper; there is nothing lost by it, except that mark which writing gives of my respect towards you; and that you do not question, I believe.

We in the country are still kept under wonder and expectation; the cloud is very thick that is spread over us; but this is our support (if we can but maintain our courage for awhile) that nothing that can befal us can hurt us much; being the power of man reaches no farther than these frail bodies, that must, however, in a little while lie down, until that glorious day of the Lord, when all men's works shall be tried by a right judgment. Then shall we see many justified that have stood condemned with the world; until then I desire to wait with patience.

I have told you before, if my paper has at all come to you, that Lord Bedford is preparing to remove from this place, if the Prince lands northwards, to Chenies, in Buckinghamshire.

I hear Lord Cavendish is well at Brussels; he says, he has much of my Lord Kingston's company, who being there, will stay till he hears a little more from hence. God have you in his protection, is the prayer of

Your friend and servant.

28th October, 1688.

The Duchess of Somerset, I hear, has a girl.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY ALINGTON.

If I did not know myself to be the worst correspondent in the world, I should be more careful to improve that which you so kindly begun with me; yet to let my sister see I am not careless in taking advantage of the first pretence, I think, is offered me to justify sending a dull letter, I take that of your coming to your new house. It is usual to congratulate or condole at changes; I am glad I begin with the first; and I hope the time you are to pass in this imperfect state will be so happy to you, that in all the various events of a changing world, your friends that survive the few remaining days I have to stay in it, shall still have cause to be glad, not mourn with you. If wishes were not unprofitable, I should contribute towards it; and think myself too inconsiderable to do it any other way, except by my too unworthy prayers, which are ever presented before the throne of grace for good to all my friends, in which number I sincerely desire I may find you, and that you will receive as such to you,

Dear Sister,

Your's affectionately,

R. Russell.

1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I AM very sorry the motion you made me about money was not for yourself, and that by my receiving it, I might at such a time as this have had the opportunity of doing you some little service; for it was purely upon that consideration I accepted to take it; and being it was not so, I am glad the party was not met with, lest my expression in the matter was not clear to you, who seemed to understand me as if I would still deal in the things, by saying it may rest till you hear from her, or see me. I easily believe my thoughts might be confused to a degree that I could speak nothing plain, for if I had, you would have understood that my saying, Get it in if you can, and I will secure it for you (which I think were the words), was purely in relation to Dr. Fitzwilliam himself; for whose convenience I would most willingly have had the trouble I must have met by taking it; but desire to be excused from it, since it is not so. I am of the mind you want more advice than my former, which was to lay in provision beforehand; now it is to be honest to yourself, a caution you little thought to meet with, but upon my word I think I can maintain the phrase; nay, I could go farther, and say you are not honest to your neighbour; but I will give over, only repeat the old saying to make good my point, 'Too much pity spoils a city.' I have rambled the more, because one is in prudence confined not to speak of matters one is strangely bent to be talking of.*

The use you would (if there is cause for it) put my gallery to, you may, Sir, very freely; for my own part, I do not think that great house to be so well chosen; it is too much in view I doubt; however, that is left to your consideration.

I wish you very heartily well directed in all your concerns, little and great, and am, with true cordial kindness,

Your friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

November 16, 1686.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

MY LORD,

I HAVE very justly obeyed the commands of your Lordship's last letter, 30th October, both to my Lord Bedford and my sister; and had not failed sooner to have made my report of doing so to your Lordship, and with what sentiments they received your valuable esteem, and so resolved an affection, as you express; but I had put my letter into Lady Clinton's hands before I had shewed it to my Lord Bedford, and so stayed for its return to me, which that good Lady took care it should do, with some advantage, sending with it a particular how the money for Stowel was

* The Prince of Orange being now landed; his declaration; the King's answering it; the association; desertion of the King's troops; some of the Prince's friends taken; petitions for a parliament, with the other circumstances at that time, must fill all minds with apprehensions and anxiety.

disposed of. I believe I might accidentally induce her to it, though my words did not require it; which were only, that if the money was not so paid, as that the portion would clear the jointure, I foresaw a rock not to be got over, if times should so settle, that business of such a nature could proceed. And truly, my Lord, I think discouragements do visibly wear , but the storm rather increases, that will not admit of leisure for dispatches of this nature. I am charged with more respectful compliments from my Lord Bedford than I know how to express; and when our troubles are, by the power and mercy of God, less violent, I shall watch the time to please your Lordship in my reports, better than it has been my fortune of late to do, though I have at all times equally desired to approve myself.

November 25, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY CLINTON.

It is fit your Ladyship should know I received your letter, and the inclosed, which was more than looked for, the meaning I had being only to hint what blocks I feared might be found, when other difficulties might be surmounted; but you are too watchful a friend to leave any thing undone, which may be of the least use. I hope the money is well husbanded, though I want skill to know justly what the portion may discharge.

But, Madam. nothing, I think, can just now occasion a resolution for a treaty, the cloud over us hangs too heavy. I have writ this post to my Lord, and hope he will not complain, at least not of

November 25, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

Truly, good Doctor, you are very condescending, to take my pretending to advise in so good part; I thought I had a good assurance you would do so, or I should not have been so free, being nobody abounds less in their own sense than I believe I do; but where I wish well, and suppose it will be well taken, I speak freely. I was not apt to think you ever were vain or lavish in your own layings out, only, perhaps, not restraining enough in very allowable expenses; nay commendable ones in another age; but the prospect at home called upon us to provide: yet, while I am reflecting thus wisely, I feel who wants severe reproof, and cannot draw up so unblameable a particular as you have taken the pains to do: but however it is, we can only do our best for the time to come; and I pray God to put the same earnest care into the hearts of all the people of this nation. There is no time so hazardous but the righteous and the repentant may run into him and be safe; and if we must not escape the judgments of the sword, yet I trust it shall cut off only such, as most notoriously cumber God's ground: and that in the midst of wrath He will remember mercy, if we will but meet him in his judgments, as miserable sinners ought to do; and as I question not but numbers in this land do.

It was surprising to hear of the Princess's absenting her-

self,* but one hears every day so much, which is so, that unless one would write a volume, it is not easy to enter on the subject of news; and yet it being more difficult to rest on any other, I will conclude this from

Your ever affectionate friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

November 30, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I WISH you prosperous, good Doctor, in your new economy, and hope it is so far off being too late, that it is too early to begin, more than is very decently prudent; since, I trust, we have some reasonable prospect to believe such as you yourself may live, and enjoy what is their own.

So great a change has appeared in the space of one month. May the great Dispensator of all these wonderful events dispose our hearts and minds, and direct them to a right use of so much mercy; and let it be his will to perfect the work he has to do among us, to the comfort of every serious and thoughtful Christian. It is a time, I confess, one would be very glad to spend some hours in free discourse with a friend there is no need to disguise any thought before; when it is denied, one must be content as one can.

I think, having stayed so long in the country, in the hurly burly, we shall try it a little longer. The carriers and coachmen that come from the North, inform us many gentlemen in the North are in arms, all horse; that in Yorkshire they may have 10,000 as soon as they please; but they refuse all except horse; and that many Papists were got nto Hull. This night's letters signify the surprising of that place, and declaring for a free parliament.†

I am, Sir, and ever to continue such,

Your faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

December 8, 1688.

We have now got Gazettes again, so have sent them; though you hear too much, perhaps, to read where you are.

LADY RUSSELL TO *(supposed)* DR. BURNET.

BECAUSE I think I cannot be deceived, when I persuade myself that my writing a few lines, to bear a testimony of my grateful remembrance, and faithful respects, will not be tedious to you, I choose to send it, as often as I can find ways to the‡ ; nay, I have, I may say, created this, since the bearer of it has no other errand than to carry this paper, and return charged, I hope, with such good reports as every good soul wishes for. Curiosity may be too eager, and therefore not to be justified, but sure it is unavoidable.

* Princess Anne went away Nov. 25.

† The Earl of Danby made himself master of York; Colonel Copley surprised Hull, and seized Lord Langdale, the Governor, a Roman Catholic; Lord Delamere did good service in the North; the Earl of Devonshire at Derby; York and Berwick declared for a free parliament.

‡ Words omitted.

I do not ask you should satisfy any part of it, farther than you can in six lines; but I would see something of your hand-writing upon English ground, and not read in print only, the labour of your brain. Here has, of late, been some sheets laid to your charge (as*) and so much justice you receive, that the world never lays a dull one upon you. I will consider the compass of a letter is too narrow to contain all I could find to say to you; and you are too busy to urge such an employment, as reading my epistles on you.

I have pleased myself, and now I will retire to such contemplations as the wondrous Providence of every day furnishes to all thinking creatures.

May our hearts and minds be directed to a due use of them, and ever full of praise to God, and prayers for the visible Mover, that causes so mighty a revolution as we see; and how much greater is it like to be if they go on blessed, and carry the cause they so gloriously manage with an happy success.

December 8, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO

THE suspense we have been under was very tedious; I every day hoped you would have found some way or other to let me hear from the quarters you are in, but I believe a prudent caution has kept me ignorant.

I am certain my best wishes has attended him you went away with from hence; and, as I apprehend, he has been prosperous to his desires, and I hope he will ever be so. If I could see how I could do more than wish or pray for it, I would readily make it appear how faithfully I would serve him and his interests.

What you may write or tell the messenger who brings you this, will be very acceptable; and much more to see you, and lead you the three mile walk, which I would walk again upon that condition, though I have not done it since I walked it with you. I suppose you are at all times better employed than you will be in reading this paper; for your ease, not my own, I close it from

Your, &c.

December 8, 1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO *(supposed)* Dr. FITZWILLIAM.

THERE needs no art to engage your belief of so sincere a truth, as I am going to write to you; that since I purposely read the last verse of the 73d Psalm, I have had more mind to scribble a few lines to you than I ever had in my life; not from any hope I have to speak any thing will please me; my thoughts are too much crowded to get a passage to express what I feel. My religion and my country are dear to me, and my own hard fate will ever be as a green wound. I need say no more to you. I have been but too impatient to say so much. I have fancied it a sort of guilt not to do it, and a want of ingenuity not to find an opportunity; yet I met it not till now. If I had writ two months ago, I had had something to say from

* Words omitted.

some of your friends that would be loss to your time to repeat. I will only say the words of one of whose opinion you then desired concerning a sheet had been writ.* They were these—' I know not how to commend what is so exactly my own sense, and the words I could have been glad to have said.'† I met with none of another mind. I was two or three days in London at that very instant of time, when the first consternation was upon some, for what has since fallen out, which is marvellous indeed! Those who have lived longest, and therefore seen the most change, can scarce believe it is more than a dream: yet it is indeed real, and so amasing a reality of mercy, as ought to melt and ravish our hearts into subjection and resignation to Him who is the dispenser of all providences.

1688.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

You have since I saw you, good Doctor, so shifted places, that my letters cannot find you. I writ to Windsor, when you were gone to Cotenham, and yesterday I directed to Cotenham; at night I heard upon what melancholy account you were gone from thence to poor Lady Gainsborough's.‡ I imagine your compassionate temper, and true christian disposition to mourn with them that mourn (which I have had full proof of), will not let you quit that distressed family. So soon as this will reach you, be so kind to me as to say something to my Lady; I will own all you can say that is kind and respectful, and suitable to her present circumstances: I consider her as one has been a blessing to the family; she must have known much sorrow and care in it, but she cannot miss a reward for her good works; as to herself, I have esteemed her person.

I pity good Lady Betty, though I believe Lady Julian may have the greater loss; the first, I fancy, may have the greater sense what the want of parents is; but I have a good hope their mother's children shall feel the mercies of God. I should be glad to hear the father has done his part towards their provision.

Parliament news can be nothing before Monday; then the House of Commons are to take the state of the nation into consideration; and the Lords do so on Tuesday.

I must repeat a question to you I made in my letter yesterday. It was to ask you if I am right, that you ordered me to lay down four guineas for you towards the redemption of some French Protestants, taken going into Holland, and made slaves in Algiers. They are now redeemed, four ministers or five, and the rest proposers. My cousin Ruvigny has paid the money, and I am to gather to re-im-

* The sheet referred to, was probably *Samuel Johnson's Way to Peace among all Protestants*, being a letter of reconciliation sent by Bishop Ridley to Bishop Hooper, with observations, licensed July, 1688, afterward seized by order of Lord Sunderland.

† Tillotson's. Vide p. 163.

‡ Edward Earl of Gainsborough's death.

§ January 22, the Abdication was voted by the Commons.

burse him the greatest part if I can. I have some time since writ to Lord Campden for his contribution, and he bid me lay down for him, but the time was not come till now, so I will remind him again in a few days, but I think it not fit yet in his present circumstances. I will add no more at this time from

Your true friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

January 26, 1688-9.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

GOOD DOCTOR,

I GIVE you a thousand thanks for taking so very kindly of me all my impertinences, as most others would call them, but a good meaning excuses all to a good man. I do so little doubt of my interest to serve you, in the point you ask, at any time, that unless you urge the dispatch of it, I will defer the execution of it. I cannot now stay to expostulate why I would do so; but, in short, a hasty asking may alarm, and be thought to be an occasion of putting others on the same: and, perhaps, also before you would use the liberty you ask, accidents may abdicate your opinion. The reason of my haste is expecting every minute Doctor Lower to my daughter Cavendish, who was taken ill last night, in a manner, if she had not had the small-pox, one would guess she would have it. My sister Mountague's son has been soo too, that I forbore seeing him, but yesterday that fear passed over.

I am very faithfully
Your friend to serve you to my power,
R. RUSSELL.

Thursday, March, 16, 1688-9.
I hear the Doctor's coach.

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD HALIFAX.

MY LORD,

THAT this is burdened with an humble request you will soon guess. What that is, and how I am engaged to it, if you will please to read the letter, you will know the first; and the address will tell the latter. It was the furtherst in the world from my intention to break in thus upon your Lordship, and give you a trouble in a time I take such as yourself to be (if you could be so) overwhelmed with business; but I was uneasy to resist a friend I love so well as Lady Shaftsbury, finding her so heartily interested in this affair as she is: and both the Ladies so fixed in their belief, that this would be most effectually done, if your Lordship would act in it. I am the more easy to move your Lordship to do so, from the professions I have had the honour to hear you make, that you would readily and gladly serve good Lady Shaftsbury, who is disconsolate enough, and imagines it would be a refreshment to please a friend so very much as the obtaining this suit would my Lady Cowper, whom she has a great esteem for, and I take her to be worthy of it. Sir William is more known

to your Lordship. My Lady Shaftsbury is so zealous in this matter, that if she had believed her request more immediately from herself to your Lordship would have been better to her purpose, you would have had that separate from this; but being I was to do something, I thought we might do it jointly, and that better, because the shortest trouble to your Lordship.—An apology added to all this, would begin another from

Your Lordship's most humble servant.

Feb. 1688-9.

Before I attempted to move this request to your Lordship, I tried what Pollexfen could object against the fitness of it. He made no objection, as to the gentleman, but as many others do, gave him a very good character; yet, as it is in all trades not to help another to a shop to work in, said, it might be the undoing young men. His friends are secure in him, and that others, as well as he, have done very well.

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD HALIFAX.

MY LORD,

You must needs be so well acquainted with the solicitudes most persons have in such affairs as touch them very near, that you will not think it very strange, Lady Shaftsbury and I have been prevailed upon by Mr. Cowper's* friends once again to press your Ladyship to weigh his case, and serve him in it if it may be. If his Majesty, when he granted this request in the behalf of Mr. Cowper, was pleased (as I understood from your Lordship) to express his sense of that favour as a thing extraordinary, and to make the irregularity of it an instance of his grace to Lady Shaftsbury and myself, we are ready to embrace his Majesty's concessions in the largest sense, being disposed to think as highly of his goodness as any circumstance can render it, and therefore would not controvert that point, though very understanding men, and several eminent and disinterested persons of the profession of the law, are of a contrary opinion; and the frequent instances that are given of its having been done before, seem rather to prove it has been used as an encouragement for young gentlemen, to serve the King in that difficult profession, and consequently is most proper for such, and is likely to induce such to qualify themselves to serve their King and country with more honour and integrity, than persons whose first steps and advances in the world teach them shifting. But to lay our partiality aside, I think we may say, that it is hard to guess, after the King has given the place to Mr. Cowper, under the notion of its being irregular in respect of his age, what worse representations the commissioners can have made of him to the King; except they have mistaken the matter of fact, and told his Majesty that a man of twenty-four is under age; an age his Majesty has found is not uncapable of great actions.

* William, afterwards Earl Cowper, and Lord Chancellor. He died October 10, 1723.

It must be some strange inconveniency attending this grant, they have pressed, that could move the King to determine his pleasure so soon to one that yet has not been capable of offending in that station; and every day mends the fault he took it in with. Sure this is a matter below the envy of the Lords Commissioners; and what other reasons they can have in suppressing him, we think it not proper to inquire into. Mr. Cowper says, that if the testimony of able and worthy men of the same profession to the contrary of their suggestions will remove the obstructions they have laid to his Majesty's grace, he is able to produce them, though men of the same profession are naturally not very forward in those offices.

The readiness your Lordship has expressed to undertake this matter, first in compliment to Lady Shaftsbury and myself, and since to the family, makes it unnecessary to urge zeal. I deliver mine with submission to your judgment, that advantages every thing it undertakes.

Your Lordship's, &c.

LADY RUSSELL TO SIR H. POLLEXFEN.

Attorney General.

WHAT I offer in this paper to Mr. Attorney General, I should with a better will do personally, if I were not sure it would be very much more a trouble to you to tell you in your chamber my true joy for the eminent station you are in, and that the reason you are so, is because you are worthy of it; which will, I hope, be the prevailing rule in this our new world; though I must think there has been a failure already in the person of one about you, who offered some discourse to me when I was last with you. I have done all you desired of me then; and as I have practised silence under long sufferings, I can do so in any case: the day of consolation I wait for, is not to be met with in this lower world. But now, Sir, I must, before I release you, earnestly entreat your good-will on the behalf of Sir William Cowper's son, whom I did name to you, and also the request his friends desired to make for him, which was to be made one of the King's council. It is very true you did not approve the thing, though you spoke well of the man; but your exceptions seemed to me to be especially in regard to young gentlemen; that it was not advisable, proving for the most part a ruin to them. His friends persisting in their desire, taking assurance from his temper he would do well, Lady Shaftsbury and myself so engaged in it, that, by the means of Lord Halifax, we obtained the King's promise; and Mr. Cowper kiss'd the King's hand for it. Lord Shrewsbury* gave

* Charles Talbot, Earl, afterward Duke of Shrewsbury (son to Francis, who was killed in a duel by the Duke of Buckingham in 1667, and brother to John killed in a duel by Henry Duke of Grafton), after mortgaging his estate, he remitted 40,000*l.* to the Prince of Orange, went to Holland, and drew with him several other persons of honour; for that and other good services, he was by King William preferred to be Secretary of State, and

the warrant, and now it stops at the Commissioners of the Great Seal; and as they tell me, because Mr. Attorney is not contented at it. I am sorry if it is so; and if the business had not proceeded so very far, I would not urge it. But the reflection will be very heavy upon Mr. Cowper, and not easy to my Lady Shaftsbury and myself; as for a favour to us, the King expressed he did it, and after some difficulty at it.

Pray consider, Mr. Attorney, all dispensing powers are not unlawful. I undertake very few things, and therefore do very little good to people; but I do not love to be balked, when I thought my end compassed; and though you would not promote us in it, I hope you will not destroy us.

Let me know, if you please, how it stands, and if you can be inexorable to the earnest solicitudes of a mother, who I must bring to you. I know not what to say more, but that I am sorry they were ever made to hope for it; Lady Shaftsbury and I being, Yours, &c.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY ESSEX.*

BEING I read your Ladyship's obliging, and so very moving letter, on Sunday, I must say why I have not waited on you since; it is because I was then engaged both the next days to be out of town; yet on both of them I endeavoured the same performance I am now about, but still broke off by slight but unavoidable interruption less acceptable than usual, since it might hazard my seeming to receive your Ladyship's kindness and your orders with less cordial respect than I do, and ever will do. If any labour I could take might be of the meanest service to you, I assure you, Madam, you should feel the effects of my good will. But, alas! I am not qualified, nor have opportunity to do what I should find content in doing, as most certainly I should, if in the least degree I could help to soften those thoughts, which by so long and so constant a fretting on a tender body, consumes you with grief. I do feelingly mourn with you at the new imbittering of that cup you have so deeply drank out of already. But, Madam, be careful you do not aggravate circumstances to your own wrong. That melancholy which has so long possessed your soul, is apt, I believe, to turn the darkest side towards you; and a sore not skinned is soon made to smart, nay to shrink, when any thing comes near to it, as if it were touched though really it is not. This perhaps may be your case at present. Rest your thoughts in your own innocence, Madam; nothing that is worthy can slan-

to many other employments, and created a Duke. He died 1717-18.—[*Br. Comp.*] He had been bred a Papist, but had forsaken that religion, upon a critical inquiry into the points of controversy, in which he was assisted by Tillotson. He was a man of strict honour and probity, with a large share of learning, a correct judgment, sweetness of temper, and modesty of deportment, that charmed all who knew him.—*Burnet.*

* Elizabeth, widow of Arthur Earl of Essex, daughter of Algernon Piercy, Earl of Northumberland.

der you in their most secret thoughts, much less Sir H. C. who is abroad, also most secure in his own merit. All those intimated in your letter, are perfectly new to me; and I must consent to say the same thing your Ladyship does of them.

In what I can serve the just end you aim at, I will be very diligent. And I beseech God one day to speak peace to our afflicted minds, and let us not be disappointed of our great hope. But we must wait for our day of consolation till this world passes away; an unkind and trustless world it has been to us. Why it has been such, God knows best; all his dispensations serve the end of his providences; and they are ever beautiful, and must be good, and good to every one of us; and even these dismal ones are to us, if we can bear evidence to our own souls, that we are better for our afflictions; which God often makes them to be, who suffer wrongfully. We may reasonably believe our friends find that rest we yet but hope for; and what better comfort can your Ladyship or I desire in this valley of the shadow of death we are walking through! The rougher our path is, the more delightful and ravishing will the great change be to us.

Wednesday, March 19, 1688-9.

LADY RUSSELL TO

SIR,

THOUGH I am personally a stranger to you, yet that disadvantage does not discourage me from presenting to your consideration a young gentleman, who is very solicitous I would do so. And being a man of quality (and his father the Earl of Anglesea, my uncle* by marriage), I was not willing to refuse his request, which he does urge very powerfully with me, because very modestly and reasonably. His father has left him very destitute, and, as he says, he thinks he should be wanting to himself if he did not seek to obtain an honest livelihood; so I think too.

He aims at Clerk of the Presentations, which he says is not honestly worth more at the most than 200*l.* a year. He believes himself qualified for the fit execution of it, and if you find him not so, I would be no more willing than yourself he should be accepted of, being I would have all places in this blessed change of times given to those who are most fit to execute them, and therefore am glad to hear the universal approbation of that trust is reposed in you, which I wish you a long enjoyment of as,

Sir,

Your faithful servant, &c.

March 22, 1688-9.

* Lady Elizabeth Manners, daughter to John Earl of Rutland, married James Annesley, Earl of Anglesea.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

MY LORD,

I AM ashamed to name the date of your Lordship's last, it being so long since as the 8th instant. But have really deferred from a desire first, to have had an opportunity of speaking largely and freely with my Lord of Bedford, yet I cannot compass that end, either at his own house or mine: he is full of company, or his age requires rest, as soon as he is disengaged. The last discourse I had upon this subject, he told me, he had writ to your Lordship, and spoke very desponding of the matter, but with regret, giving a high and just esteem to your Lordship and all your procedure, throughout this tedious treaty. Indeed, my Lord, I must for ever make it my opinion, that my Lord Strafford cannot transgress from all the rules that honour directs to go by; what cause soever he may have of complaint, he is secure never to be complained of; and if your Lordship knew my part in this whole business, I should not fear being judged by you. I have, to my mean judgment, observed my equal way of dealing which I intend in all my dealings and actions in this wretched world; and have been very careful not to fail where I find so true honour, and for many other reasons, pay so profound a respect as I do to your Lordship. But I am safe in your Lordship's just understanding and knowledge of the world; that you will agree my relation obliges me to be tender in the urging things of such a nature as this. And I can say there has been all the kind dispositions to this affair, that your Lordship could expect, and when there was such I was most ready to use my endeavours to serve both families; and though there continues the same respect, yet unhappy accidents forbidding a close, I am to acquiesce. And though your Lordship in great generosity, seems to imply, as if you would reject any advantageous offer, and wait this new storm passing over, I cannot join with you in that: as I suppose you would not bind her, so you should not yourself, who I sincerely wish may ease the present pressure of your affairs by some happy lot. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful humble servant,

R. RUSSELL.

March 26, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD

I WILL pretend to wish you, and the world too, as well as any body can do, and therefore with as much seal desire you may live long to do much good in the station you are by the mighty providence of God now placed in. But indeed I had reserved the saying of this till we had met, if this was not come burthened with another errand.—You know I am not frequent nor very impertinently importunate, with my solicitations, yet sometimes I am prevailed upon, when I both wish the person was supplied, and approve of the matter of solicitation. What assistance you

can give it, you will best know when you see the request. The gentleman is the best son my Lady Anglesea has; I refer his character to the Dean of Canterbury or Dr. Sharp; the first I am sure you will hear it from; he is a man of quality, his father has left him very destitute, and as he says he should be very wanting to himself, if he did not seek to obtain an honest livelihood; so I think too, and for that reason would assist him to my power. This application to you he requests from me, and he urges it very powerfully, because very modestly; yet I should hardly have yielded, if I were not sure the good Dean is to second me heartily in it. The enclosed paper is my Cousin Anglesea's, and shews what he aims at. I take it for granted he is qualified; I am certain I would have all places in this blessed change of times given to none that should not discharge them with both honesty and understanding. I am, &c.

April 5, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I LOOKED in vain for your calling here in your way to Cotenham; that which I desired it most for (though I love your company at all times) was to have discoursed you about the pass for your going abroad. I took the opinion of a gentleman you think well of, and meet here often. He agreed with me that it could not miss at any time; however, some time since that, the Doctor I think to do it by, being with me, I asked his opinion, that if I should perceive I should gratify a friend of mine by obtaining such a liberty, being in his power, whether he thought it would be hard to be obtained, or would assist me in it? He replied, he should be very sorry at the thing; it would not look well, unless some young gentleman went at the same time, and so, it might be alleged he would see him placed abroad, or desired to spend some time with; something of this kind would give it a grace, but he believed there would be no cause to enforce any one's desire to be absent. So I left it till I know more of your mind in it. I cannot imagine but by them or some other, I shall not fail to serve you in your own way, yet I would not defer it without your liking I do so, lest I should be disappointed when I try, for there is no certainty in this poor world. But I will watch if any thing is doing, that you should wish to make use of such a liberty.

This is the day the House of Commons take the Act of Oblivion into consideration, and they say will begin upon the Ecclesiastical Court. Lady Sunderland is come over to solicit in her Lord's behalf. We heard yesterday that poor Lord Gainsborough is dead. Possibly your friendship in their time of need may have carried you thither, and so this will miss you, and every thing I can put in it be so old before you read it, that I will not say much more. My sister Alington is in town, and Miss Die was to come last night. I am told my niece Digby comes this week or the next. I am, good Doctor,

Your affectionate friend,

R. RUSSELL.

April 5, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship's of the 2d of April puts me under very great obligations of a perpetual acknowledgment both of your kind acceptation of my disposition to serve you, in the whole progress of this treaty, and the justice I find from your Lordship, when you consider my part in it. My Lord, if my letter of the 26 March fixes your Lordship's doubts to more certainty, that this matter at last must fall, I am sorry it is my lot to speak the most unpleasing to your Lordship on a subject your Lordship has taken so deep and so obliging impressions of it into your mind, and with so much constancy and generosity pursued, to the eternal engagements of all honourable and most respectful acknowledgments from a family whose sentiments must be mine: consequently I must always be your Lordship's humble servant; and as such, as much as in a just pursuance of a principle I would never depart from, if I speak at all I must speak clearly, and not doubtfully, if I apprehend no doubt remains; and indeed, my Lord, by all the judgment I can make here, it is so in this case, yet without abating any part of that perfect esteem and honour my Lord of Bedford has established in his heart and thoughts of your Lordship; but the bad state of Ireland* does so affect him that he is satisfied he should give his daughter, whether she was so or not, a just cause to complain he did not consider her whole interest, if he should provide her no better provision of fortune than your Lordship's present circumstances can make for her. However, I wish your Lordship a true prophet, that a few months may recover Ireland; and I do very particularly for your Lordship's share in it, as a person that is with great respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful humble servant,
R. RUSSELL.

April 20, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

MY LORD,

I AM so very sensible of that great civility your Lordship chooses still to preserve towards me, who have been no fortunate instrument and perhaps sometimes a faulty one through ignorance, in this so long depending treaty, that I cannot obtain my own good will to be altogether silent, but tell your Lordship how I value your good opinion, and that excellent temper which disposes your Lordship to bear so calmly, and so respectively, a behaviour, you say you see yourself injured in. I am infinitely sorry it has proved so, and so are, I must affirm, all persons concerned; but continual repetitions would be too tedious to your Lordship, and I would not again disturb your rest, by your reading at an unseasonable hour a letter you do not like.

* King James's invasion, &c.

I will venture it, if ever I can write one which shall (as I think) be welcome to you; if any man can conquer, your Lordship's zeal and kindness must. But, my Lord, this is a time of so much threatening and distraction, that all private concerns, though never so great, must rest, I think; though as your Lordship hints very justly, it were unreasonable to be required on either side, that there should not be an entire freedom to choose as may be agreeing to either side.*

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

By your last letter, writ some day in Passion week, I find where you were then; yet having heard nothing of you since, it gives me some doubts where you are now, being I apprehend, Lady Gainsborough might be solicitous to see so faithful and so useful a friend, especially in this time of her need, and if she does, I never make a doubt of your gratifying her.

I cannot tell you I have taken any notice of that part of your last letter which concerns Lord Bedford, and the Cambridgeshire clergy; for really and truly unless I made it a business to do it (which you did not seem to require), I have had no time; the Parliament-hours are so extravagant, that I see him little. He has with him now a concerned lady in the privileges of your country, Lady Alington; but though she is in London she would not walk yesterday, which I do not commend her for; I am not sure what you may do; I had no sister there yesterday. You hear all the new honours, I suppose; not many new creations, but all are stepping higher; as Lord Winchester† is Duke of Bolton: Lord Montague an Earl‡ called still Montague; Falconbridge§ an Earl, called the same; Mordaunt‖ Earl of Monmouth; Churchill¶ an Earl; Lord Lumley** made Viscount; Bentinck†† is an Earl; Sidney‡‡

* Unfinished.

† Charles Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. Reresby relates, that in the midst of the impending dangers which seemed to threaten us, there was a nobleman (the M. of W.) who had by his conduct persuaded some people to think him mad; but notwithstanding his irregularity, he was a man of great sense, and it is certain his meaning was to keep himself out of the way of more serious censure in those ticklish days.

‡ Ralph Montague, Lord, Earl, afterward Duke.

§ Thomas Bellasise, Viscount Fauconberg; his second wife was Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell.

‖ Charles Mordaunt, who afterward succeeded his uncle Henry, as Earl of Peterborough.

¶ John Churchill, Earl, afterward Duke of Marlborough. He said to Rouvigny in 1685, if the King is ever prevailed on to alter our religion, I will serve him no longer, but withdraw from him. —*Burnet*.

** Richard Lumley, afterward Earl of Scarborough. He secured Newcastle for King William, to whom he was otherwise very serviceable.

†† William Bentinck, Earl, afterward Duke of Portland.

‡‡ Henry Sidney, Esq. fourth son of Robert Earl of Leicester, afterward Earl of Romney.

a Viscount. Those that saw this and the last Coronation, tell me this was much finer and in better order; and if the number of the ladies were fewer, yet their attendance was with more application near the Queen all the time, and with more cheerful faces by a great deal. By what is heard from Scotland, they mean to take the example from England. The last reports from Ireland say, that King James was moving with this army towards the North. And yesterday Lord Burlington said, Colerain, a great town, was besieged by 6000 men, but that Lord Blaine* had sallied out, and so behaved himself that they had raised the siege. D'Avaux, who was the French Ambassador in Holland, would not speak in council, till all the protestants were put out; so they were, and, as they say, afterward discharged all together, as the Lord Grenard, &c. I am called away, and it is too late to defer sending this from

Your constant friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

April 12, 1689.

The mother Lady Aylesbury is dead very suddenly.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THIS comes to ask a courtesy of you, good Doctor, if I can get this letter to you time enough. The business is this; Lord Devonshire is to be installed at Windsor on St. George's† day. My young folks have a longing desire to see the ceremony, and they cannot do it without a night's lodging in Windsor. If I can have that accommodation of your house, I will think it a great favour, and will go with them, and look to your house while every body is gone to the show.

I doubt the post cannot bring me a return time enough, so I am put in hopes this may come to you by a coach; if it does, I do not question your order to your housekeeper to let us in. In confidence of it, I think to send to her, that I believe I shall come and air your beds for a night.

I have had opportunity since I writ last, to tell Lord Bedford what you said about the clergy. He answered, he believed there would be no change made, but if there were you should have good reasons for it; such as he knew would satisfy you. But he was sure he should not be forward to impose upon the clergy.

* In 1689, K. James, before he left Ireland, sent to invite Henry Lord Blaney into his service, promising him a pardon for what had passed; the said Lord answered, that he had a new King upon whose word he could depend and trust, but never would to his without his sword in his hand; and heading a body of protestants in the province of Ulster, he took the pass of Lough Bricklan, seized Armagh, and caused K. William and Q. Mary to be proclaimed there, and at several other places, with great solemnity.—*Irish Comp.*

† William, Earl, afterward Duke of Devonshire, installed Knight of the Garter, May 14; but according to Lady Russell, designed to be April 23, St. George's day.

It is church time, and therefore I bid you farewell for this time.

Ever your friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Sunday.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR last spoke of being in town so soon, that it has made me (who manage writing to the best advantage) be longer than otherwise I would have been without inquiring of you where you are, and where you design to spend your time? Where you shall do it, God only knows; for we can only propose, and it is best for us, who can judge so poorly as we do, when we do it best. Those who have lived long enough to reflect, may give themselves many instances how certain a truth it is, that we would often choose what is worst for us. I have had six books, and distributed them, and mean to buy six more, so good and useful I take them to be. My stay here is not intended above ten or twelve days.

I will not turn my paper, so I rest
Your true friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

DR. FITZWILLIAM TO LADY RUSSELL.

I RECEIVED, good Madam, by yours of the 11th, a farther testimony of that kindness of which I had abundant proof and full conviction before, and of your readiness to employ your interest to procure that for me which I requested some three months since. I made that petition then, in prospect of what is now come upon us, and in hope, that having obtained previous leave to go abroad before the oaths had been pressed, I should not have been immediately compelled to return back to take them. What now I shall do in this present emergency I am irresolved; but if having first debated it with myself, and advised with my friends, it shall seem most expedient to make such a retreat, I will depend upon your honour's mediation for that favour.

I have a project, which, if feasible, would please me more than any thing in the world, and by such an interest as yours may be in this court, upon the merits of your Lord's sufferings, and the actings of his family, I should not question it might be obtained for one so unworthy of any ray of grace as myself. But if the thing be set on foot, it must be with great caution and secrecy, till I am secure of the King's promise for it; and therefore I cannot tell whether you had best acquaint the prelate mentioned in your last with it, unless you have more confidence in him, that he will entirely serve you, than I can that he will descend to make himself an instrument to serve me. It is to get a person presented to my living, upon my resignation, by the Crown, in whom I may confide, without any the least capitulation direct or indirect before-hand. He whom I design, is one Mr. Jekyl, Minister of the New Chapel, Westminster, a very good man, and a favourite enough of

the government. I could do this now another way before the first of August; but that I would take a longer time to consider, and did not I withal apprehend that the Bishop of Ely,* who is the original patron of it, would scruple to administer the oath to any upon institution, while he is unsatisfied about taking them himself. I cannot tell what my dear friend the B. of B. and W. may do in this case. I find him, by a letter to me, and another I saw in the hands of a person of honour of your sex, to be fluctuating; but if the consideration of the church's peace should, without a full persuasion of the lawfulness of the matter of the oath of allegiance, and of the authority which imposeth it, induce him to take it, neither his example or advice, though I have used him as a spiritual guide, should steer me in this point; for I could never hear that doctrine of the Roman casuists defended to a probability, that a good intention, or a holy end, could sanctify actions in order to that end, which were dubious and questionable in themselves.

It may be I have as sad thoughts for the divisions of the church, and as ardent desires for its peace as any; and let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem before my chief joy. But I cannot esteem it a good way to seek the attainment of this, by any act which shall disturb my own peace; and yet this I must of necessity do, if I make use of such means as may be conducive to that end, when I am not first convinced of the justice of them. I did not doubt but the Deans of some of the greatest name in the city would take the oaths, nor do I suspect but they will proceed to the doing so upon grounds which seem in their own judgment very solid. And yet I ought not to act or defend what I do by the example of others. This is like clearing one's self by reckoning up the faults of others: as St. Hierome writing to Celantia observes: but, however, as he proceeds, it argues a lightness and vanity of mind, for a man to leave his own conscience to follow the opinion of others. It may be their judgment, that at least, in such a case as ours was, the people have power to alter the succession; and that the convention was a full representative of them.

I sucked in other more monarchical principles with the first knowledge I had, from the breasts of my mother the University, and then, and ever since took them, as far as I could understand, to be more agreeable to our frame of constitution of government. Or they may look on this revolution as a tacit and virtual conquest. I wish it had been owned to be such; for then I had known from the resolutions of civilians and casuists, and my own reason, what to have done without difficulty. In the mean time I entreat you, very good Madam, not to call boggling at an oath, clashing against another, as far as I can discern, which I formerly took, an unnecessary scruple. I believe, were you under such an engagement, your tenderness and circumspection would be rather greater than mine.

The former oath of allegiance runs thus:—'I will bear

* Turner of Ely, and Kenn of Bath and Wells, Nonjurors.

faith and true allegiance to his Majesty King Charles, or King James, *and his heirs and successor, and Him and Them* will defend.' Of supremacy, 'I will bear *faith and true allegiance* to the King's Highness (Charles or James) *his heirs and lawful successors*, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.'

Now I am informed by the statute 1 Jac. c. 1. that lineal succession is a privilege belonging to the imperial crown, and by 12 Car. 2. c. 30. 17. that by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this kingdom, neither the Peers of this realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in parliament, or out of parliament, nor the people collectively, nor representatively, nor any persons whatsoever, hath, or ought to have any coercive power over the Kings of this realm.

The present oath runs thus, 'I will bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.' Now let any impartial person resolve me, whether one of these, King James having abdicated, be his heir, or lawful successor, or could be made so, had the people met either collectively or representatively, which they did neither?*

In the mean time I protest to your Ladyship, upon the truth of a christian and a priest, that divesting myself of all prejudices, and, as far as it is possible, of all passions which darken the light of the judgment, I will examine the matter to the bottom, and if I find I can take the oath, I will. But if I find I cannot, without declaring, or an admission of such a declaration, that I never intend nor will be thought by construction or implication by such swearing, to recognize the legal title of King William and Queen Mary, I then beg of your honour these three things.

1. That you would have the same good opinion of my integrity, and of my zealous addiction to you, or to any thing relating to your service, as ever you had heretofore.

2. That you would permit me, in entire trust and confi-

* In 1674-5, on a bill to prevent dangers from disaffected persons, Lord Halifax with that quickness of learning and elegance, which are inseparable from all his discourses, made it appear that as there was no real security to any state by oaths, so no private person, much less statesman, would ever order his affairs as relying on it, for no man would ever sleep with open doors, or unlocked up treasure, or plate, should all the town be sworn not to rob. So that the use of multiplying oaths had been most commonly to exclude or disturb some honest conscientious men, who would never have prejudiced the government. As for promissory oaths, it was desired the learned prelates would consider the opinion of Grotius de Jure, B. and P. c. ii. 13. who seems to make it plain, that those kind of oaths are forbidden by our Saviour Christ, Matt. v. 34, 37. and whether it would not become the fathers of the church, when they have well weighed that and other places in the New Testament, to be more tender in multiplying oaths, than hitherto the great men of the church have been.—P. *Debates*.—Ralph says the Marquis lived till 1700.

dence, to make over all my worldly goods to you: for I fear that some men's heats may drive affairs so far, as to bring all recusants of it into a premunire.

3. That I may have some room in your house, if any can be spared, to set up my books in, and have recourse to them, if, on refusal, we may be permitted to stay in the town.

The first petition I with more earnestness would press upon you, your sister the Lady Montague, and all other friends, than the rest, because I look upon it as the worst sort of martyrdom, to suffer, in the opinion of friends I have extremely loved and honoured, either as indiscreet or factious.

But yet, if such a martyrdom cannot be avoided, I will endeavour to sustain it with patience and courage.

Mrs. Alington, for whom I have always had a tender regard from her childhood, sensibly wounded me when she called this standing out of the Bishops, factious.

As to the second, if you shall see fit to decline it, I will apply with the same request to my very honoured friend the Lady Gainsborough.

The third is with supposition only that such a concession may not bring any great inconvenience upon your house.

I hope your honour will excuse the mean accommodation mine at Windsor Castle could yield you, and the meaner it may be because I could not be there to direct. I wrote twice that Doctor Scot might spare you a room, and if it had come into my head earlier than to-day, I am sure the D. of Winchester would, upon my writing, have spared you any in Dr. Fulham's house, which is in his command.

I entreat your honour to present my very humble respect and service to the Lord Russell, Lady Cavendish, Madam Catherine. I commend you and them to God's protection, and continue, as I shall by your permission, ever, Madam,

Your honour's most truly and
Humble devoted servant,
J. FITZWILLIAM.

May 13, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO

MY LORD,

FOR my part, I think the man a very indifferent reasoner, that to do well, he must take with indifference whatever happens to him. It is very fine to say, Why should we complain that is taken back which was but lent to us, and lent us but for a time, we know; and so on. They are the receipts of philosophers I have no reverence for, as I have not for any thing which is unnatural. It is insincere. And I dare say they did dissemble, and felt what they would not own. I know I cannot dispute with Almighty power; but yet if my delight is gone, I must needs be sorry it is taken away, according to the measure it made me glad.

The Christian religion only, believe me, my Lord, has a power to make the spirit easy under great calamity; nothing less than the hope of being again made happy can satisfy the mind: I am sure I owe more to it, than I could have done to the world, if all the glories of it had been offered me, or to be disposed of by me. And I do sincerely desire your Lordship may experience the truth of my opinion. You know better than most, from the share you have had of the one, what they do afford; and I hope you will prove what tranquillity the other gives. If I had a better wish to make, your Lordship's constant expressions of esteem for me, and willingness, as I hope, to have had me less miserable than I am, if you had found your power equal to your will, engages me to make it; and that alone would have bound me, though my own unworthiness and ill fortune had let you have forgot me for ever after my sad lot. But since you would not do so, it must deserve a particular acknowledgement for ever, from

Your Lordship's

July, 1689.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY TO LADY RUSSELL.

If it were from no other cause but to have peace at home I must write to your Ladyship; for, Madam, my wife* is scarce in charity with me, for my not offering her most humble service to your Ladyship and your children; and therefore, that I may not forget it again, I must now begin with it, and so be again in her favour. She is not a little proud of the many honours you have done her; and desires most earnestly to be looked on by you, as one that has all the value and admiration for you, which she can possibly pay you. I do in the next place, on my own account, make my most humble acknowledgments for the great care you have had of my books, which I have now cased up in your Ladyship's cases for Salisbury. I have been so long accustomed to be obliged to your Ladyship, and have so long a score to reckon for, that I will never offer to clear it. All I can say is, that as I have met with all the noble marks of a most obliging goodness and friendship from your Ladyship, so no heart can possibly be fuller of a deep sense of it than mine is. And as long as I live I will reckon myself as much a property to you, as any thing can be that eats your bread; and you and

* About 1667, Dr. Burnet married, in Holland, Mrs. Mary Scott, a Dutch lady of large fortune, and noble extraction. Her ancestor on the father's side, was of the family of Buccleugh, who settled in Holland; on the mother's side, who was a de Ruyter, she was related to the principal families in Guelderland. With these advantages of birth, she had those of a fine person; was well skilled in drawing, music, and painting; and spoke Dutch, English, and French equally well. Her knowledge in matters of divinity, was such as might rather be expected from a student than from a Lady. She had a fine understanding and sweetness of temper, and excelled in all the qualifications of a dutiful wife, a prudent mistress of a family, and a tender mother of children.—*Biog. Brit.*

yours may ever depend upon all that I can ever do, as much as if I were bought with your money. You will, perhaps, wonder how I have got into this strain, that am so little apt even to say what I ought to do upon such subjects; but a heart that is very full will sometimes give itself a little vent; and therefore forgive me for saying that at sometimes, which I think at all times.

I will not undertake to write much news to your Lady-ship, only that from Londonderry is so good, that there is now great reason to hope for a speedy issue of that siege.* Murrarty's† driving so many thousands of Irish Protestants to Londonderry, either to die before it, or to be let in to eat up their provisions, is a piece of cruelty, that if persisted in, will bring on great barbarities; and will raise our mobile again on the Papists of England. We are not quite sure whether the French fleet is out or not; for though there is some reason to believe it, yet there is much reason to doubt of it. If it is true, there will be a speedy decision at sea, upon which a great deal will depend. You will know there has been much heat to day in the House of Commons, with relation to the two Marquisses‡ for removing them both. I dined to-day with one of them, who seems not to be much troubled at it; perhaps he thought it was a victory, because the debate was adjourned; but after all, those wounds are no desira-

* Londonderry was relieved July 19, 1689.

† Murrarty, query Maccarty, who commanded at Inniskilling. Ralph relates, than Conrade de Rosen, Marshal General of King James's force, in Ireland, 30th June 1689 (during the siege of Londonderry), had recourse to a device, which for every kind of barbarity is not to be paralleled in history; he threatened to gather the Irish Protestants, and cause them immediately to be brought to the walls of Londonderry, where (he said) it shall be lawful for those that are in the town, in case they have any pity for them, to open the gates and receive them into the town, otherwise they will be forced to see their nearest relations and friends all starved for want of food; he having resolved not to leave one of them at home, nor any thing to maintain them, unless the besieged surrendered the next day, and to give no quarter, nor spare either age or sex, if the town should be taken by force. He fulfilled his first menace without waiting for a reply; for 4000, or some say 7000, of all ages and conditions, stript and deprived of food, were drove before Londonderry; and a great part of them perished by fatigue, grief, or want.

‡ The Marquisses of Halifax and Carmarthen; the latter, Thomas Osborne, afterward (viz. 1694) Duke of Leeds, co-operated in the restoration of King Charles II. was the chief instrument in procuring the match between the Princess Mary and the Prince of Orange, and acted with great zeal in the placing them on the throne, which was rewarded with great trusts and honours. He died 1712.—*Brit. Comp.* (His daughter Bridget was first married to Charles Fitz-Charles, Earl of Plymouth, natural son of King Charles II. by Catharine Peg.) Burnet says, he gained the highest degree in Charles II.'s confidence, and maintained it longer than any that ever served him; he was likewise in great favour with King William. It was the Marquis of Halifax who put this question, Whether the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen?—*Oldmixon.*

ble things. I know your Ladyship has all our news from other hands, so I will give you no other trouble, but to assure you, that I am, with all possible duty,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble,

And most obedient Servant,

G1. SARUM.

Saturday Night.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOUR letter came to me, good Doctor, just as you designed it; I must, or be very injurious to you, say, you are a very mindful friend, and I should be injurious to myself, if I did not say I am a very thankful receiver of your compassionate charity; and your sense of my loss touches me very obligingly.

It is very natural, I believe, to be pleased another thinks as I do, to some degree, of my pain or pleasure, and that one does not foolishly affect either. You instance very right, Sir, it was an entire affection which was between us; and no time, I believe, can ever waste my sorrow. All I desire is to make it innocent.

For the late circumstances in relation to the family, I would have assisted to my power for the procuring thereof, but for any sensible joy at these outward things, I feel none: I think I should, if I live to see him a worthy man.

Your discourse is very fine, gathered from the Philosophers, but that would not do my business. I know there is no disputing with an Almighty Power; and what he gives us he may take away at his own time, and we have no reason to complain: but yet, if my delight is gone, I must be sorry it is taken. But your Christian doctrine has much more power in it. There you tell us the particular advantage that all good people have by particular trials of faith, if they behave themselves as they ought. We gain the content in our mind that our faith is sincere, by our willing obedience to all providences; and God will not forget any good thing in us; we shall have a reward; there is a promise of everlasting life; and what would not one do to obtain it? For we love ourselves too well, not to desire to be well always. I may say it is a great bait to do our duty, so that if we have faith, we shall have love and obedience.

Your prayer I like so well, that I have used it with such fervour as I can, more than once this serious day. And hope I shall more and more acquiesce in these dark providences.

I received a letter from my sister, which I have just read; she says her son is well recovered of the measles, but is very lean, and her daughter pale; that she is going in a few days to Boughton. I believe country air will be to their advantage; I pray God spare them to her, poor woman.

London is like to be my retreat from hence, for Lord Bedford seems to have no hope of getting yet to We-

borne; and I am not prepared at Stratton; but what one seems so directed to, I hope will do well. Lord Carberry's Lady is dead. It is kept very carefully from the Princess, who goes very long for one so big as she was. I hear Lady Gainsborough is recovering. The Dowager Lady writes me word she had some thoughts of sending Lady Julian to the bath; that Lady Northampton was to take the opinion of Doctor Lower. Truly I wish he may advise it, for I have believed a good while it was the best thing she could do, and I am glad she is in hands will leave nothing undone may be thought to her advantage, for that, I do firmly believe, my Lady will not, as I do that I shall always be Dr. Fitzwilliam's

Faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

July 21, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I KNEW not where to find you, good Doctor, because your last said you would go to Lord Gainsborough's, and then to Windsor. Now I hear Lord Gainsborough and his Lady are at Banbury waters; but I have heard no more of you than that Mr. Hoskins told me he saw you at my sister Alington's. However, I can willingly lose a sheet of paper of my scribbling in search of one I wish so well to. We have been leaving London ever since I came to it, but Lord Bedford has been indisposed, and that delayed it from day to day; so that it will be Monday before he thinks of it now. Here is no news but what the Gazette tells. Two expresses did come yesterday, one from Ireland, the other Scotland, but I know nothing of them: they were sent to Hampton Court. However, I do so little know when you will read this, that it shall not be enlarged by

Your ever affectionate friend to serve you,

R. RUSSELL.

August 23, 1689.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I AM most ready, Good Doctor, to furnish you towards a correspondence; but any matter I am sure serves you if mine does. Now the matter you supply me with is too fine, or too strong, indeed both, for me to meddle with. I am sorry you missed Lord Montague, though I despair of argument winning you, who I believe have gone through all; but his power and goodwill might be useful to you, and all the service which can be done you, I wish you may find friends to do it, and would refuse no part I can act.

I am very sorry the case stands with you as it does in reference to the oath; and still wonder (unless I could find Kings of divine right) why it does so! and all this is

the acceptation of a word which I never heard two declare the meaning of but they differed in their sense of it. You say you could have taken it in the sense some worthy men have done? Why will you be more worthy than those men? It is supererogation.

If you can avoid mental reservation, that is the biggest thing to me, for I hate that to God or man; properly I know we can have none to God, though we may wish to have it; but I abhor that wish. But you seem to say, though you are permitted to declare, that is not enough, as not being consistent with the simplicity of an oath, and that it ought to be taken according to the mind of the imposers. If you can take it, as those you mention have done, declaring they meant legal obedience, and peaceable submission, I dare say you do so; no more is meant to be imposed, especially by the King and Queen. And does not being content with the construction your friends put upon it, signify their permission to take it in such a sense! It was my Lord Nottingham's* misfortune to pitch upon that word which gives such scruples. But methinks (with submission to wiser heads) it should be a greater to weaken the interest of the church, and the protestant religion all the world over, to the degree, so many able men incapacitating themselves to serve in the church, will do, if God in much mercy prevent it not.

It is above great and good men to regard reflections, if they give not a just cause of scandal; and in serving the cause of God the best we can, there is none given. It may very well be passive obedience went too high. Some drove Jehu like. If it appears they perceive they did so, ought there to be shame in that; or ought it not to be borne cheerfully? If their nakedness is laid open, and some Hams do insult,† still they should be above it, and

* Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham. He opposed the Prince's accession as contrary to law, yet said, that since his Highness was here, and we must owe our protection to him as King *de facto*, he thought it but just and legal to swear allegiance to him. *(Ralph.)* He was with some difficulty prevailed on to be Secretary of State to King William. He told the friends to the revolution he could not go along with them, but he would so far assist them as his good wishes would avail, and be so far criminal as concealment would make him. *(Burnet)* He had great credit with the church party; in 1721 he received the thanks of the University of Oxford, for his defence of the Trinity against Whiston. He died 1729-30, having a few months before succeeded to the title of the Earl of Winchester. His father Heneage, Burnet calls a man of probity, an uncorrupt judge, and in that province resisted the strongest applications, even of the King himself, though he did it no where else; he also commends him as Chancellor, for filling the church livings with learned men, and obliging them to constant residence.

† The Papists accused the church of England of innovation and contradiction, with respect to resistance, or taking up arms against the King. *Ralph* observes, That in 1686, the Clergy began to abate of their extravagant loyalty. When the Bishops were ordered to publish the King's declaration of indulgence, as this was publishing what they thought to be illegal, or highly inconvenient, and being levelled at their own interests, says the

overcome evil with good. I never thought good men had any harm by the ill-natured speeches of malicious spirits. God knows the very best of men have infirmities; but they are ill men that retort them. However, after all is said or can be said, a man must be quiet in his own breast if he can. When I began to write in this paper, I meant not one word of all I have said on this subject, but I know, good Doctor, you will take it right, accept well of my good meaning towards you, and excuse my defects. I pretend not to argue, but where my wishes are earnest, I speak without reserve, sometimes by surprise; but take it as it is; I will not look back to examine; I know I need not to you.

I am just now, when I have signed this, going to write to my sister, and will remember your charge.

Knowing you could not be at Lord Gainsborough's, I writ to Cotenham: I guess you missed it. The waters did exceedingly well with the children. After they had done, Rachel was ill for twenty-four hours of a feverish distemper; but bleeding got it over. I am your willing friend to serve you, though others may more effectually than

R. RUSSELL.

August 31, 1689.

On the 10th Sept. 1689, Dr. Tillotson wrote from Edmonton to Lady Russell, giving her an account of the King's having conferred the bishopric of Chichester on Dr. Patrick; and the rectory of St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, falling to his Majesty's disposal by this promotion, Dean Tillotson informed her Ladyship, that he believed the King would not dispose of that living but to one whom the Earl of Bedford, the patron of it, should approve, and therefore asked her, whether his Lordship and she would be willing that the Earl of Nottingham should mention to his Majesty on that occasion Dr. John More. In the same letter the Dean takes notice of his having spoken to the King the Sunday before concerning Mr. Samuel Johnson; and that his Majesty seemed well inclined to what he had moved for that Divine, but did not positively determine to take that course. This refers to some request which Lady Russell had desired the Dean to make to his Majesty in favour of Mr. Johnson, for whom she had great zeal, out of regard both to the memory of her husband, whose chaplain he had been, and to the merit of his writings and sufferings. *Birch.*

champion for the orthodox sons of the church *(Caveat)* 'they could not either in reason or conscience obey; this was putting violence on the consciences of the King's best subjects.' Thus it was confessed at last, that the laws are the measure of obedience, that men have a right to withhold their obedience when it is likely to prove inconvenient to their own interest, and that some regard is due to the consciences of legal Protestants, thought none had been shewn by them to Protestant Dissenters.

DEAN TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

London, Sept. 19, 1689.

MADAM,

I RECEIVED both your letters, and before the latter came to my hands, I gave your Ladyship some kind of answer to the first, as the time would let me, for the post staid for it. But having now a little more leisure, you will, I hope, give me leave to trouble you with a longer letter.

I was not at Hampton Court last Sunday, being almost tired out with ten weeks' attendance, so that I have had no opportunity to try farther in the business I wrote of in my last, but hope to bring it to some issue the next opportunity I can get to speak with the King. I am sorry to see in Mr. Johnson* so broad a mixture of human frailty, with so considerable virtues. But when I look into myself, I must think it pretty well, when any man's infirmities are in any measure overbalanced by his better qualities. This good man I am speaking of has at some times not used me over well; for which I do not only forgive him, when I consider for whose sake he did it, but do heartily love him.

The King, besides his first bounty to Mr. Walker,† whose

* In a paper to justify Lord Russell's opinion, 'that resistance may be used in case our religion and rights should be invaded,' as an answer to the Dean's letter to his Lordship of July 20, 1683, Johnson observes, that this opinion could not be wrested from his Lordship at his death, notwithstanding the disadvantages at which he was taken, when he was practised upon to retract that opinion, and to bequeath a legacy of slavery to his country. And, indeed, the Dean was so apprehensive of Lady Russell's displeasure at his pressing his Lordship, though with the best intentions, upon that subject, that when he was first admitted to her after her Lord's death, he is said to have addressed her in this manner: That he first thanked God and then her Ladyship, for that opportunity of justifying himself to her; and they soon returned to the terms of a cordial and unreserved friendship.—*Birch.* Mr. Johnson wrote Julian the Apostate, to prove the legality of resistance; and an address to King James II.'s army; he was fined, imprisoned, pilloried, and whipt, after being degraded. The Revolution restored him to his liberty; the judgment against him in 1686 was declared illegal and cruel, and his degradation null; and the House of Lords recommended him to King William. He died 1703.—*Birch.* He refused the rich Deanery of Durham.

† Mr. George Walker, justly famous for his defence of Londonderry, in Ireland, (when Lunde the governor would have surrendered it to King James II.) was born of English parents in the country of Tyrone in that kingdom, and educated in the University of Glasgow, in Scotland; he was afterwards Rector of Donnoghmore, not many miles from the city of Londonderry. Upon the Revolution, he raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants: and upon the intelligence of King James having a design to besiege Londonderry, retired thither, being at last chosen governor of it. After the raising of that siege he

modesty is equal to his merit, hath made him Bishop of Londonderry, one of the best bishoprics in Ireland; that so he may receive the reward of that great service in the place where he did it. It is incredible how much every body is pleased with what the King hath done in this matter, and that it is no small joy to me to see that God directs him wisely.

I will now give your Ladyship a short account of his Majesty's disposal of our English church preferments, which I think he has done as well as could be expected, in the midst of the powerful importunities of so many great men, in whom I discern too much of court art and contrivance for the preferment of their friends; yea, even in my good Lord Nottingham, more than I could wish. This is a melancholy consideration to one in my station, in which I do not see how it is possible so to manage a man's self between civility and sincerity, between being willing to give good words to all, and able to do good to very few, as to hold out an honest man, or even the reputation of being so a year to an end.

I promised a short account, but I am long before I come to it. The Dean of St. Paul's,* Bishop of Worcester; the Dean of Peterborough,† of Chichester; an humble servant of yours, Dean of St. Paul's; the Dean of Norwich‡ is Dean of Canterbury; and Dr. Stanley, Clerk of his Majesty's closet, is Residentiary of St. Pauls; and Dr. Fairfax Dean of Norwich. The Warden of All Souls§ in Oxford, is Prebendary of Canterbury; and Mr. Nixon hath the other Prebend there, void by the death of Dr. Jeffreys. These two last merited of the King in the West, Mr. Finch by going in early to him, and Mr. Nixon, who is my Lord of Bath's Chaplain, by carrying messages between the King and my Lord of Bath, as the King himself to me, with the hazard of his life. St. Andrew's and Covent-Garden are not yet disposed. Dr. Birch (which I had almost forgot) is Prebendary of Westminster; and, which grieves me much, Mons. Allix put by at present; but my Lord Privy Seal‖ would not be denied. The whole is as well as could easily be in the present circumstances.

But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the King's hand for the Deanery of St. Paul's, I gave his Majesty my most humble thanks, and told him, that now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life. He replied, 'No such matter, I assure you; and spoke plainly

came to England, where he was most graciously received by their Majesties; and on the 19th of November, 1689, received the thanks of the House of Commons, having just before published an account of that siege, and had a present of 500*l.* He was created D. D. by the University of Oxford on the 26th Feb. 1689-90, in his return to Ireland, where he was killed the beginning of July, 1690, at the passage of Boyne, having resolved to serve that campaign before he took possession of his bishopric.—*Birch.*

* Dr. Stillingfleet. † Dr. Simon Patrick.

‡ Dr. John Sharpe.

§ Leopold William Finch, fifth son of Heneage, Earl of Winchelsea.—*Birch.*

‖ Marquis of Halifax.

about a great place, which I dread to think of, and said, 'It was necessary for his service, and he must charge it upon my conscience.' Just as he had said this, he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, that when his Majesty was at leisure I did believe I could satisfy him that it would be most for his service, that I should continue in the station in which he had now placed me. This hath brought me into a real difficulty. For, on the one hand, it is hard to decline his Majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness as his Majesty is pleased to use towards me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgment to it. This I owe to the Bishop of Salisbury, one of the worst and best friends I know; best, for his singular good opinion of me; and the worst, for directing the King to this method, which I know he did; as if his Lordship and I had concerted the matter how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running away from a Bishopric* to catch an Archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into the briars, that without his Majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face. And now I will tell your Ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service without any regard for myself, and to that end have done the best I could in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased by very severe ways,† but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me. And I do verily believe, that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station, than in a higher, and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment. But on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I should sink under it, and grow melancholy and good for nothing, and after a little while die as a fool dies.

But this, Madam, is a great deal too much, upon one of the worst and nicest subjects in the world, a man's self.

* Tillotson wrote before to a nobleman (supposed the Earl of Portland) begging he might be excused from accepting a bishopric. Birch remarks, instances of this kind of self-denial, will perhaps be thought rare in any age; but there was a remarkable one under Henry the Eighth, of another Dean of Canterbury, well known by his embassies and public negociations, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, great uncle of Sir Henry Wotton. This great politician, as well as divine, being informed of an intention to advance him to the mitre, wrote to Dr. Bellasis from Dusseldorp, Nov. 11th, 1539, requesting him, for the passion of God, to convey that Bishopric from him.—So I might (adds he) avoid it without displeasure, I would surely never meddle with it; there be enough that be meet for it, and will not refuse it, I cannot marvel enough, *cur obtrudatur non cupienti immo ne idoneo quidem.* My mind is as troubled as my writing is.—Your's to his little power, Nicholas Wotton. Add whatsoever you will more to it, if you add not *Bishop.*

† The loss of his children, and having being seized with an apoplectic disorder.

As I was finishing this long letter, which if your goodness will forgive, I hope never to have occasion to try it so far again, I received your letter, and shall say no more of Dr. More, of whose preaching I always knew your Ladyship's opinion. The person I mention was Mr. Kidder, on whom the King has bestowed the Deanery of Peterborough, and therefore cannot have it. I am fully of your Ladyship's opinion, that what my Lord Bedford does in this matter, must not appear to be done by him, for fear of bringing other importunities upon the King. If my Lord thinks well of Dr. Horneck, Dr. More would then certainly have St. Andrews.

I thank God for the health your family enjoys, as for that of my own; and equally pray for the continuance of it, and all other blessings. I would fain find room to tender my humble service to my Lord Bedford, my Lord Russell, and two of the best young Ladies I know. I am, honoured Madam, more than I can express,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,
JOHN TILLOTSON.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

WHENEVER, Mr. Dean, you are disposed, and at leisure to give it me, I can be well content, I assure you, to read the longest letter you can write. But I had not so soon told a truth you cannot choose but know, if this paper was not to be hastened to you with a little errand than I am well enough pleased to be employed in; because the effect will be good, though the cause does not please me; being you said Mr. Kidder* cannot have Covent-Garden, because he is Dean of Peterborough) though I do not conceive why, unless it is because he is great, and others are not). But Lord Bedford leans strongly to offer him to the King; it is from what you said to me has made him do so. Yet if you judge he should not now be the man, I am enjoined to obtain from you some character of one Mr. Freeman,† and Mr. Williams‡ the last I have heard you speak well of, but I did not heed his just character. What you think fit to say to me shall not be imparted but in general terms, if you like that best; though Lord Bedford is as close as can be desired, and as well inclined as possible, to do the best; and will have me say something of these men before he fixes, which my Lord Shrewsbury advises him to quickly.

More§ he is averse to; Horneck‖ the parish is also, as he is well informed, to a high degree. So Kidder, Williams, and Freeman are before him. I desire two or three lines upon this subject, by the first post, if you please.

* Rd. Kidder, afterward Bishop of Bath and Wells (in Kenn's stead, 1691) was killed with his Lady at Wells, by the fall of a stack of chimneys during the high wind, Nov. 27, 1703.

† Dr. Freeman died Dean of Peterborough, 1707.

‡ Williams, afterward Bishop of Chichester, died 1709.

§ More died Bishop of Ely, 1714.

‖ Horneck died Prebendary of Westminster, 1696-7.

Though my paper is full enough, especially to a man that has no more spare time than you have, yet I must just touch upon some other parts of your letter, being they touch me most sensibly. I bless God that inclines the heart of our King to do well; it looks as if God meant a full mercy to these long threatened kingdoms. I thank Mr. Dean very heartily for those thoughts that influence and heighten his charity to Mr. J——n. I will not say what I do more, but you must needs know. Mr. Dean, now a few words to your own concern, that bears so heavy upon your mind, and I have done. I know not if I should use the phrase, 'integrity is my idol;' but I am sure I admire and love it hugely wherever I meet it. I would never have a sincere person crossed. I do pity you, Mr. Dean, and I think you have a hard game upon your hands, which if it should happen you cannot play off your own way, you can do better than a man less mortified to the world could; being if you serve the interest of religion and the King's, you are doing what you have dedicated yourself to, and therefore can be more regardless of the ignorant or wicked censurer; for, upon my word, I believe you will incur no other: your character is above it, if what you fear should come upon you. But as I conceive there are six months yet to deliberate upon this matter, you know the old saying, many things fall out between the cup and the lip; and pray do not fill your head with the fears of a trouble, though never so great, that is at a distance, and may never be; for if you think too much on a matter you dread, it will certainly disturb your quiet, and that will infallibly your health; and you cannot but see, Sir, that would be of a bad consequence. The King is willing to hear you. You know your own heart to do good, and you have lived some time, and have had experience. You say well that such a one is the best and worst friend.—I think I should have had more tenderness to the will or temper of my friend; and for his justification, one may say, he prefers good to many, before gratifying one single person, and a public good ought to carry a man a great way. But I see your judgment (if your inclination does not bias too far) is heartily against him in this matter, that you think you cannot do so much good then as now. We must see if you can convince him thereof; and when he is master of that notion, then let him labour to make your way out of those briars, he has done his part to bring you into; though something else would have done it without him, I believe, if I am not mistaken in this, no more than I am that this letter is much too long from, &c.

September, 1689.

DEAN TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

Edmonton, Sept. 24, 1686.

HONOURED MADAM,

JUST now I received your Ladyship's letter. Since my last, and not before, I understand the great averseness of the parish from Dr. Horneck; so that if my Lord of Bedford had liked him, I could not have thought it fit, knowing how necessary it is to the good effect of a man's ministry, that he do not lie under any great prejudice with the people. The two whom the Bishop of Chichester hath named, are, I think, of the worthiest of the city ministers, since Mr. Kidder declines it, for the reason given by the Bishop, and, if he did not, could not have it; not because of any inconsistency in the preferments, but because the King, having so many obligations yet to answer, cannot, at the same time, give two such preferments to one man. For the two persons mentioned, if comparison must be made between two very good men, I will tell your Ladyship my free thoughts of them.

Mr. Williams is really one of the best men I know, and most unwearied in doing good, and his preaching very weighty and judicious. The other is a truly pious man, and of a winning conversation. He preaches well, and hath much the more plausible delivery, and, I think, a stronger voice. Both of them (which I had almost forgot) have been steady in all changes of times. This is the plain truth; and yet I must not conceal one particular and present advantage on Dr. Freeman's side. On Sunday night last, the King asked me concerning a city minister, whose name he had forgot; but said, he had a very kind remembrance of him, having had much conversation with him, when his Majesty was very young, in Holland, and wondered he had never seen him since he came into England.

I could not imagine who he should be, till his Majesty told me he was the English Ambassador's Chaplain above twenty years ago, meaning Sir William Temple's. Upon that I knew it was Dr. Freeman. The King said that was his name, and desired me to find him out, and tell him that he had not forgot him, but remembered with pleasure the acquaintance he had with him many years ago; and had charged me, when there was an opportunity, to put him in mind of him. This I thought both great goodness in the King, and modesty in Dr. Freeman,* never to shew himself to the King all this while. By this your Ladyship will judge, who is like to be most acceptable to the King, whose satisfaction, as well as service, I am obliged to regard, especially in the disposal of his own preferments, though Mr. Williams be much more my friend.

I mentioned Mr. Johnson again, but his Majesty put on other discourse; and my Lord Privy Seal told me yesterday morning, that the King thought it a little hard to give pensions out of his purse, instead of church preferments;

* Dr. Freeman was instituted to the rectory of Covent-Garden, Dec. 28, 1689.

and tells me Mr. Johnson is very sharp upon me. His Lordship called it railing; but it shall not move me in the least. His Lordship asked me, whether it would not be well to move the King to give him a good bishopric in Ireland, there being several void. I thought it very well if it would be acceptable. His Lordship said, that was all one: the offer would stop many mouths as well as his: which, I think, was well considered.

I will say no more of myself, but only thank your Ladyship for your good advice, which I have always a great disposition to follow, and a great deal of reason, being assured it is sincere as well as wise. The King hath set upon me again, with greater earnestness of persuasion than is fit for one that may command. I begged as earnestly to be considered in this thing, and so we parted upon good terms. I hope something will happen to hinder it. I put it out of my mind as much as I can, and leave it to the good providence of God for the thing to find its own issue. To that I commend you and yours; and am, Madam,

Yours, by all possible obligation,
JO. TILLOTSON.

If Mr. Johnson refuse this offer, and it should be my hard fortune not to be able to get out of this difficulty, which I will, if it be possible to do it without provocation, I know one that will do more for Mr. Johnson than was desired of the King, but still as from the King, for any thing that he shall know. But, I hope, some much better way will be found; and that there will be neither occasion nor opportunity for this.*

LADY MONTAGUE TO LADY RUSSELL.

I AM very sorry, my dear sister, to find by your's, which I received by the last post, that your thoughts have been so much disturbed with what I thought ought to have some contrary effect.† It is very true what is once taken from us, in that nature, can never be returned; all that remains of comfort (according to my temper) is a bringing to punishment those who were so wickedly and unjustly the cause of it.

I confess, it was a great satisfaction to me to hear that was the public care; it being so much to the honour, as well as what in justice was due to your dead Lord, that I do not doubt, when your sad thoughts will give you leave to recollect, you will find comfort.

I heartily pray God you may, and that you may never have the addition of any other loss, which is and ever shall be the prayers of,

Your entirely affectionate,
E. MONTAGUE.

Boughton, Dec. 23, 1689.

* The King granted Johnson 300*l.* a year for his own and his son's life, with 1000*l.* in money, and a place of a 100*l.* a year for his son.

† This probably alludes to the Committee of the House of Commons to examine who were the advisers and promoters of the murder of Lord Russell, &c.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY SUNDERLAND.

I THINK I understand almost less than any body, yet I knew better things than to be weary of receiving what is so good as my Lady Sunderland's letters; or not to have a due regard of what is so valuable as her esteem and kindness, with her promises to enjoy it my whole life. Truly, Madam, I can find no fault but one, and that is constantly in all the favours you direct to me, an unfortunate useless creature in the world, yet your Ladyship owns me as one had been of some service to you. Alas! I know I was not, but my intention was pure; I pitied your sorrow; I was hearty in wishing you ease, and if I had an occasion for it I could be diligent, but no further ability; and you are very good to receive it kindly. But, so unhappy a solicitor as I was once for my poor self and family, my heart misgives me when I aim at any thing of that kind any more. Yet I hope I have at last learned to make the will of God, when declared, the rule of my content, and to thank him for all the hard things I suffer as the best assurances of a large share in that other blessed state; and if what is dear to us is got thither before us, the sense what they enjoy, and we in a little while shall with them, ought to support us and our friends.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I ASSURE you, good Doctor, I was very well pleased this evening, to receive another letter from you; and much more than ordinary, because your last had some gentle hints in it, as if you thought I had taken some offence, though you kindly again said, you could not or would not imagine it, not being conscious of omission or commission, and indeed you have good reason for saying so; I will at any time justify you in it, and do more commend your belief, that I either had not your letters, or was not well, than I could your mistrust of me for what will never happen. But an old dated paper has convinced you, and a newer had, if I had known where to have found you; for in your's of the 5th of August you intimate that you meant (if it did not too much offend the eyes of a friend of mine that were weak) to make a stay at Windsor of ten days longer, and made no mention then whither you went. Now truly I had that letter, when I was obliged to write much to such as would congratulate my being well again, some in kindness, and some in ceremony. But so it was, that when I went to write, I found I should not know where to send it; so I deferred it till I had learnt that. I sent to Mrs. Smith; she could not tell; I bid John send to Richard at Straton to know if you were at Chilton, for I know Lady Gainsborough was not there then, but now you have informed me yourself.

By report I fear poor Lady Gainsborough is in new trouble: for though she has all the help of religion to support her, yet that does not shut us out from all sorrow; it does not direct us to insensibility if we could command it, but

to a quiet submission to the will of God, making his ours as much as we can. Indeed, Doctor, you are extremely in the right to think that my life has been so imbittered, it is now a very poor thing to me; yet I find myself careful enough of it. I think I am useful to my children, and would endure hard things to do for them till they can do for themselves; but, alas! I am apt to conclude if I had not that, yet I should still find out some reason to be content to live, though I am weary of every thing, and of the folly, the vanity, the madness of man most of all.

There is a shrinking from the separation of the soul from the body, that is implanted in our natures, which enforces us to conserve life: and 'tis a wise providence; for who would else endure much evil, that is not taught the great advantages of patient sufferings? I am heartily sorry, good Doctor, that you are not exempt, which I am sure you are not, when you cannot exercise your care as formerly among your flock at Cotenham.* But I will not enlarge on this matter, nor any other at this time. That I might be certain not to omit this respect to you, I have begun with it, and have many behind, to which I must hasten, but first desire you will present my most humble service to my Lady; I had done myself the honour to write to her, just as I believe she was writing to me, but I will thank her yet for that favour. Either trouble or the pleasure of her son's settlement engrosses her, I apprehend, at this time, and business I know is an attendant of the last.

I am, Sir,
Your constant friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, August 28, 1690.

DEAN TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

Edmonton, October 9, 1690.

HONOURED MADAM,

SINCE I had the honour of your letter, I was tempted to have troubled you with one of mine upon the sad occasion of your late great loss of two so near relations, and so near together.† But I considered, why should I pretend to be able either to instruct or comfort my Lady Russell, who hath borne things much more grievous with so exemplary a meekness and submission to the will of God, and knows, as well as I can tell her, that there is no remedy in these cases but patience, nor any comfort but in the hopes of the happy meeting of our deceased friends in a better life, in which sorrow and tears shall have no more place to all eternity!

And now I crave leave to impart something of my own trouble to your Ladyship. On Sunday last the King commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kensington. I did so, and met with what I feared. His Majesty renewed his former most gracious offer, in so press-

* Ejected as a Nonjuror.

† The death of her sister, the Countess of Montague, and of her nephew, Wriothesley Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough.

ing a manner, and with so much kindness, that I hardly knew how to resist it. I made the best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to consider all the consequences of this matter, being well assured that all the storm, which was raised in convocation the last year by those who will be the church of England, was upon my account, and that the Bishop of L— was at the bottom of it out of a jealousy, that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he desires, and what, I call God to witness, I would not have. And I told his Majesty, that I was still afraid, that his kindness to me would be greatly to his prejudice, especially if he carried it so far as he was then pleased to speak; for I plainly saw they could not bear it; and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me, would terminate upon him. To which he replied, that if the thing were once done, and they saw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the best of it; and therefore he must desire me to think seriously of it; with other expressions not fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered, that in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I would consider of it again, though I was afraid I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and must break through one of the greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice at once all the ease and contentment of it; which yet I would force myself to do, were I really convinced, that I was in any measure capable of doing his Majesty and the public that service which he was pleased to think I was. He smiled, and said, you talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more ease in it, than in the condition in which you now are. Thinking not fit to say more, I humbly took leave.

And now, Madam, what shall I do? My thoughts were never at such a plunge. I know not how to bring my mind to it; and on the other hand, though the comparison is very unequal, when I remember how I saw the King affected in the case of my Lord of Shrewsbury,* I find myself in great strait, and would not for all the world give him the like trouble. I pray God to direct me to that, which he sees and knows to be best, for I know not what to do. I hope I shall have your prayers, and would be glad of your advice, if the King would spare me so long. I pray God to preserve you and yours.

I am, honoured Madam, &c.

JO. TILLOTSON.

* When that Earl resigned the post of Secretary of State about 1690, to divert him from which, Dean Tillotson had been sent to his Lordship by the King. *Burnet*, vol. ii. p 46.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

YOUR letters will never trouble me, Mr. Dean; on the contrary, they are comfortable refreshments to my, for the most part, overburdened mind, which both by nature and by accident, is made so weak, that I cannot bear, with that constancy I should, the losses I have lately felt; I can say, friends and acquaintances thou hast hid out of my sight, but I hope it shall not disturb my peace. These were young, and as they had began their race of life after me, so I desired they might have ended it also. But happy are those whom God retires in his grace—I trust these were so; and then no age can be amiss: to the young it is not too early, nor to the aged too late. Submission and prayer is all we know that we can do towards our own relief in our distresses, or to disarm God's anger, either in our public or private concerns. The scene will soon alter to that peaceful and eternal home in prospect. But in this time of our pilgrimage, vicissitudes of all sorts are every one's lot. And this leads me to your case, Sir.

The time seems to be come that you must put anew in practice that submission,* you have so powerfully both tried yourself, and instructed others to; I see no place to escape at; you must take up the cross, and bear it; I faithfully believe it has the figure of a very heavy one to you, though not from the cares of it; since, if the King guesses right, you toil more now; but this work is of your own choosing, and the dignity of the other is what you have bent your mind against, and the strong resolve of your life has been to avoid it. Had this even proceeded to a vow, it is, I think, like the virgins of old, to be dissolved by the father of your country. Again, though contemplation, and a few friends well chosen, would be your grateful choice, yet if charity, obedience, and necessity, call you into the great world, and where enemies encompass round about, must not you accept it? And each of these, in my mean apprehension, determines you to do it. In short, it will be a noble sacrifice you will make, and I am confident you will find as a reward, kind and tender supports, if you do take the burden upon you; there is, as it were a commanding Providence in the manner of it. Perhaps I do as sincerely wish your thoughts at ease as any friend you have, but I think you may purchase that too dear; and if you should come to think so too, they would then be as restless as before.

Sir, I believe you would be as much a common good as you can; consider how few of ability and integrity this age produces. Pray do not turn this matter too much in your head; when one has once turned it every way, you know that more does but perplex, and one never sees the clearer for it. Be not stiff if it be still urged to you. Conform to the Divine Will, which has set it so strongly

* Submission alludes to Tillotson's letter to Lord Russell against resistance. A shrewd hint of the Dean's endeavours to persuade Lord Russell to submit to the doctrine of Passive Obedience.

into the other's mind, and be content to endure; it is God calls you to it. I believe it was wisely said, that when there is no remedy they will give it over, and make the best of it, and so I hope no ill will terminate on the King; and they will lay up their arrows, when they perceive they are shot in vain at him or you, upon whom no reflection that I can think of can be made that is ingenious; and what is pure malice you are above being affected with.

I wish, for many reasons, my prayers were more worthy, but such as they are, I offer them with a sincere zeal to the throne of grace for you in this strait, that you may be led out of it, as shall best serve the great ends and designs of God's glory.

[About the middle of October, 1690.]

DEAN TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

October 25, 1690.*

HONOURED MADAM,

I AM obliged to your Ladyship beyond all expression, for taking my case so seriously into your consideration, and giving me your mature thoughts upon it. Nothing ever came more seasonably to me than your letter, which I received on Wednesday se'nnight, the very night before I was to have given my final answer to the King the next morning. I thank you for it. It helped very much to settle and determine my wavering mind. I weighed all you wrote, both your advice and your arguments, having not only an assurance of your true friendship and goodwill for me, but a very great regard and deference for your judgment and opinion. I cannot but own the weight of that consideration which you are pleased to urge me withal; I mean the visible marks of a more than ordinary providence of God in this thing; that the King, who likes not either to importune or to be denied, should, after so obstinate a declining of the thing on my part, still persist to press it upon me with so much kindness, and with that earnestness of persuasion which it does not become me to mention. I wish I could think the King had a superior direction in this, as I verily believe he hath in some other things of much greater importance.

The next morning I went to Kensington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the King coming out of his closet, and asking if his coach was ready. He took me aside, and I told him, that in obedience to his Majesty's command, I had considered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him my answer. I perceived his Majesty was going out, and therefore desired him to appoint me another time, which he did on the Saturday morning after.

Then I came again, and he took me into his closet, where I told him, that I could not but have a deep sense of his Majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to press it so earnestly upon me. I said, I would not presume to argue the

* From a copy in short-hand, in his common place-book.

matter any farther, but I hoped he would give me leave to be still his humble and earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing. He answered, he would do so if he could, but he knew not what to do if I refused it. Upon that I told him, that I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote it to be disposed of as he thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say, it was the best news had come to him this great while. I did not kneel down to kiss his hand, for without that I doubt I am too sure of it; but requested of him, that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a secret for some time. He said he thought it might not be amiss to defer it till the parliament was up. I begged farther of him, that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the present Archbishop: that some time before I was nominated his Majesty would be pleased to declare in council, that since his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would dispose of their places. This I told him I humbly desired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harsh, or which might reflect upon me, for now that his Majesty had thought fit to advance me to this station, my reputation was become his interest. He said, he was sensible of it, and thought it reasonable to do as I desired. I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which in justice to my family, especially to my wife, I ought to do, that I should be more than undone by the great and necessary charge of coming into this place, and must therefore be an humble petitioner to his Majesty, that if it should please God to take me out of the world, that I must unavoidably leave my wife a beggar, he would not suffer her to be so; and that he would graciously be pleased to consider, that the widow of an Archbishop of Canterbury (which would now be an odd figure in England*) could not decently be supported by so little as would have contented her very well, if I had died a Dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer—I promise you to take care of her.†

Just as I had finished the last sentence, another very kind letter from your Ladyship was brought to me, wherein I find your tender concern for me, which I can never sufficiently acknowledge. But you say, the die is now cast, and I must now make the best I can of what I lately thought was the worst that could have happened to me. I thank God I am more cheerful than I expected, and comfort myself as I can with this hope, that the providence of God, to which I have submitted my own will in this matter, will graciously assist me to discharge, in some measure, the duty he hath called me to.

I did not acquaint my good friend, who wrote to you, with all that had passed, because it was intended to be a secret, which I am sure is safe in your hands. I only told him, that his Majesty did not intend, as yet, to dispose of

* Only two who had filled the see of Canterbury, had been married; Cranmer and Parker.

† King William granted Tillotson's widow an annuity of 600l. and forgave the first fruits; for the Archbishop had left nothing to his family but the copy of his Posthumous sermons, which was afterward sold for 2,600 guineas. She died Jan. 20, 1701-2.

this place; but when he did it, I was afraid it would be hard for me to escape.

The King, I believe, has only acquainted the Queen with it, as she came out of the closet on Sunday last, commanded me to wait upon her after dinner, which I did; and after she had discoursed about other business (which was to desire my opinion of a treatise sent her in manuscript out of Holland, tending to the reconciliation of our differences in England) she told me, that the King had with great joy acquainted her with a secret concerning me, whereof she was no less glad; using many gracious expressions, and confirming his Majesty's promises concerning my wife.

But I am sensible this is an intolerable letter, especially concerning one's self.

I had almost forgot to mention Mr. Vaughan's* business. As soon as he brought your Ladyship's letter hither to me, I wrote immediately to Whitehall, and got the business stopped.

The Bishop of St. David's† had written up for some minister of a great town, but a small living in that diocese, that it might be bestowed on him for his pains in that great town. The pretence is fair, but if the minister is no better a man than the Bishop, I am sure he is not worthy of it. I have been twice to wait on my Lord Nottingham about it, but missed of him. When I have inquired farther into it, if the thing be fit to be done, I will do my best for Mr. Vaughan. And I beg of your Ladyship to make no difficulty of commanding my poor service upon any occasion, for I am always truly glad of the opportunity.

I cannot forbear to repeat my humble thanks for your great concernment for me in this affair.‡

That God would multiply his best blessings upon your Ladyship and your children, and make them great blessings and comforts to you, is the daily prayer of,

Madam,

Your most obliged humble servant,

J. T.

* Probably a relation to Lady Russell, whose first husband was Lord Vaughan, eldest son to the Earl of Carbery.

† Watson, Bishop of St. David's, was deprived for simony, 1689, by Archbishop Tennison. He took the oaths to King William, yet continued attached to King James.

‡ Archbishop Sancroft was deprived Feb. 1st, 1690-1, Tillotson nominated in council to the archbishopric, 1691, and consecrated May 31st. He died Nov. 22, 1694.—King William declared that he was the best man whom he ever knew, and the best friend whom he ever had. The Queen for many days spoke of him in the tenderest manner, and not without tears.—*Burnet.*

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY RANELAGH.*

MADAM,

I HAVE now before me yours of the 12th, and can read it with the same eagerness as when it came first to me, and so must any body that you shew so much favour to, as to entertain them in the like manner. Every one is an instruction for a whole life, and a nourishment for many days; and indeed I had yet, I think, fed on it longer, without exciting you to new trouble, the rather because my servant sent me word you had been more than ordinary indisposed, but blessed be God, he says, you are not so now. And therefore I submit, in order to the design I have to serve a very good Lady all I can, to trouble your Ladyship, and to consult you if you please in the matter. And I think you are never displeased on such occasions, more especially if you can have opportunity to be instrumental in effecting what does good to any. Now to my business:

We are told that Mr. Middleton is in a dying condition; his place in the Prize-office is worth about 400*l.* a year; it is though, as I apprehend, so only during a war, and so the less valuable; however, Lady Ann Wingate would be contented if it could be obtained for Sir Francis. I believe Lady Anglesey is the tenderer in the point, by reason Mrs. Middleton is so intimate a friend. And truly though I am not so, I would not do so unworthy a thing as to solicit to her prejudice. But how it is so, if one desires to see a reversion be not granted to some other than our friend, I do not understand; yet would certainly cease if I did. Your Ladyship will better know that than I do. But if it does her no wrong, I dare say you would most willingly gratify your friend Lady Anglesey and her daughter, in doing what can be for them; and as such I address myself to your Ladyship, from whom I can ask no more than when you see Lord Devonshire to mention the thing to him, and your wishes in it; and if you think fit, as a thing you know I offered to him, from my Lord Bedford, and my own account; though I know there will not want that to enforce, when he knows your will in it, I know so well his respect to your Ladyship. However, Lord Bedford and myself would shew our readiness to serve my Lady Anne and Sir Francis, and the more friends join will not recommend it less to my Lord Devonshire, if he can do any thing in it.

I have writ to him Lord Bedford's thoughts of Sir Francis; which are, that he is an understanding, honest gentleman; and has almost exceeded any in this country in his zeal and activeness towards the present government.

* Wife of Robert Jones, Earl of Ranelagh, a man of great parts and as great vices. He had the art of pleasing masters of very different tempers and interests, so much so that he continued above thirty years in great posts, and was looked upon as one of the ablest men Ireland had bred. *Tindal.*

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD DEVONSHIRE.

MY LORD,

BECAUSE I think all apologies are troublesome, I will not make any for sending you this paper, which comes to your Lordship with a joint request from my Lord Bedford and myself, if you can befriend us in it. I know your Lordship needs not be pressed; your own nature moves you to oblige petitioners, as many as you can. The business is this: we hear that Mr. Middleton is very near dying; he has a place in the Prize-office; it is worth about 400*l.* a year. Sir Francis Wingate, a gentleman in this country, that married a daughter of Lady Anglesea, would fain succeed him: my Lord Bedford would most willingly gratify him if he could. The character he gives him, is, that he is an honest understanding gentleman, and has shewed all the zeal and good affection to the present government that is possible for any man to do with an activeness irreprovable.

My Lady Ranelagh will, I guess, let you see she is engaged in this matter, which I will say no more in; but if it is in your Lordship's way to do him the courtesy I shall be glad. If it is not, I shall be sorry for this trouble I have been engaged to give your Lordship, whose humble servant I am, for my whole life. R. RUSSELL.

LADY RUSSELL TO MADAM ROUVIGNY.

DIEU nous a frappée, ma chere Madame, d'un coup qui nous paroît fort rude; mais Dieu ne pense pas comme l'homme pense, et il faut croire qu'il ne prend pas plaisir à tourmenter ses pauvres creatures. Mais que songions-nous, que Dieu salût se detourner de son chemin en ses providences pour notre contentement. Non, assurement, il faut nous supporter le mieux que nous puissions sur toutes sortes d'évènements, et vivre en espérance qu'un jour nous verrons plus clairement la raison de tous ses noirs dispensations qui nous attaquent, nous touchent si vivement.

Madame, je ne combats pas vôtre vide douleur, vous le devoyez, à un fils, et à un homme si brave et si aimé, ôté du monde.*

Il a aussi toutes sortes de consolations qu' on peut possible atteindre, en la maniére de sa mort: en toutes ses dernières actions, mon ame me fait fort espérer qu'il fut accepté, et que son ame se repose en le bras de cet Sauveur en qui il se reposoit avec tant de foy. Dieu veut, Madame, que vous et moy faisons nos devoirs en telle sorte que les accidents qui nous peuvent arriver ne nous detournent pas des sentiers de Dieu; mais au contraire

* Mons. Rouvigny (eldest brother of the late Earl of Galway), a gallant officer, slain fighting under King William at the battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690.

nous ayant à passer doucement les peu de jours qui nous restent devant que nous entrons dans ces delices eternelles qu'il nous prepare. Jusqu' à ce heureux moment,

Je suis, &c.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THERE is so much in those little sheets you sent me to thank you for, that finding myself very ill fitted to do it, I was tempted to let it quite alone, till I made shift to consider, that for the most part our temptations incline us to the worst things, and to the most forbidden tempers. This makes me rise from that listlessness I continually drop into, till I have at least told you how sensible I am of your kindness on all occasions; and I am sensible too how strong and pious all your offers of comfort to a disquieted mind are, and I hope that by often perusing them they will so affect me, that the effect shall correspond to your Christian wishes and prayers for me, and I shall obtain a better freedom of mind than I am mistress of at present, since you conjecture very truly, every new stroke to a weary, battered carcass make me struggle the harder; and though I lost with my best friend all the delights of living, yet I find I did not a quick sense of new grief, for want of due considering that whatever below God is the object of our love, will at some time or other be the matter of our sorrow. These two, my sister* and a dear sister's son,† began their course after me, but have ended it sooner. I would have had it otherwise, but I was vain and foolish in it: God knows where it is best to place his creatures. Your prayers are indeed of more use than your fears, for my health is good, but I love greatly the prayers of my friends, that I may be resigned in the case of my children, for this trial has so experienced to me my sad weakness, that I doubt myself, and humbly beg in mercy but not in judgment that I may be spared that trial.‡

LADY RUSSELL TO *(supposed)* THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I HAVE, my Lord, so upright a heart to my friends, that though your great weight of business had forced you to a silence of this kind, yet I should have had no doubt, but that one I so distinguished in that little number God has yet left me, does join with me to lament my late losses. The one was a just, sincere man, and the only son of a sister and a friend I loved with too much passion; the other my last sister, and I ever loved her tenderly.

It pleases me to think that she deserves to be remem-

* Elizabeth Countess of Montague.

† Wriothesley Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough, died September, 1690.

‡ Conclusion wanting.

bered by all those that knew her. But after above forty years' acquaintance with so amiable a creature, one must needs, in reflecting, bring to remembrance so many engaging endearments as are yet at present imbittering and painful; and indeed we may be sure, that when any thing below God is the object of our love, at one time or another it will be a matter of our sorrow. But a little time will put me again into my settled state of mourning; for a mourner I must be all my days upon earth, and there is no need I should be other. My glass runs low: the world does not want me, nor I want that; my business is at home, and within a narrow compass. I must not deny, as there was something so glorious in the object of my biggest sorrow, I believe that in some measure kept me from being then overwhelmed. So now it affords me, together with the remembrance how many easy years we lived together, thoughts that are joy enough for one, who looks no higher than a quiet submission to her lot, and such pleasures in educating the young folks as surmounts the cares that it will afford. If I shall be spared the trial, where I have most thought of being prepared to bear the pain, I hope I shall be thankful, and I think I ask it faithfully, that it may be in mercy not in judgment. Let me rather be tortured here, than they or I be rejected in that other blessed peaceful home to all ages, to which my soul aspires. There is something in the younger going before me, that I have observed all my life to give a sense I cannot describe; it is harder to be borne than a bigger loss, where there has been spun out a longer thread of life. Yet I see no cause for it, for every day we see the young fall with the old; but methinks it is a violence upon nature.

A troubled mind has a multitude of these thoughts. Yet I hope I master all murmurings; if I have had any I am sorry, and will have no more, assisted by God's grace; and rest satisfied, that whatever I think, I shall one day be entirely satisfied what God has done and shall do, will be best, and justify both his justice and mercy. I meant this as a very short epistle; but you have been some years acquainted with my infirmity, and have endured it, though you never had waste time, I believe, in your life; and better times do not, I hope, make your patience less. However it will become me to put an end to this, which I will do, signing myself cordially

Your, &c.

Oct. 16, 1690.

LADY RUSSELL TO LORD CAVENDISH.

THOUGH I know my letters do Lord Cavendish no service, yet as a respect I love to pay him, and to thank him also for his last from Limbeck, I had not been so long silent, if the death of two persons, both very near and dear to me, had not made me so uncomfortable to myself, that I knew I was utterly unfit to converse where I would never be ill company. The separation of friends is grievous. My sister Montague was one I loved tenderly; my Lord Gainsbo-

rough was the only son of a sister I loved with too much passion. They both deserved to be remembered kindly by all that knew them. They both began their race long after me, and I hope should have ended it so too: but the great and wise Disposer of all things, and who knows where it is best to place his creatures, either in this, or in the other world, has ordered it otherwise. The best improvement we can make in these cases, and you, my dear Lord, rather than I, whose glass runs low, whilst you are young, and I hope have many happy years to come, is, I say, that we should all reflect there is no passing through this to a better world, without some crosses; and the scene sometimes shifts so fast, our course of life may be ended, before we think we have gone half way; and that a happy eternity depends on our spending well or ill that time allotted us here for probation.

Live virtuously, my Lord, and you cannot die too soon, nor live too long. I hope the last shall be your lot, with many blessings attending it.

Your, &c.

October 29, 1690.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THOUGH your letter to me, which I now answer, was writ from Windsor, January 25, yet was not read by me till very lately; for it happening to come in a time I was under some more than ordinary discomposure of mind, it was not given into my hand, at least I knew it not, but laid it (or as I believe my servants laid it for me) in a place I used to put things out of my pocket into, and happened not to regard it in several days, or I would have said something upon it a little sooner, being through God's goodness in a great measure relieved from my fear for my poor boy, who on Tuesday was se'ennight had so violent a cough, that in a day after, it gave suspicions of some other ill attending it. Measles I thought most likely; and spots did appear on Thursday, and so high, with such an aspect, that the doctor thought it the small-pox. On Friday he was so sick and so ill, I sent for more doctors, and three of them feared it the small-pox, and if so, of the worst that could be, but they said till Sunday they could not be positive. It pleased God they saw enough on Saturday night to ease my heart so much as to assure me it was the measles. He has gone on very well since, and is now past the measles themselves, and I hope will in a little time be so of the ill consequences which often follow that disease; his cough is still remaining, and will now, I believe, till he purges or bleeds. I trust that as I have had grace to ask it, so his life is granted me in mercy and not in judgment.

As to your affairs, they stand as they did for many reasons; I went that very Tuesday my child fell ill, to have seen the Queen, in order a day or two after to have seen the Princess; but it so fell out, I saw neither, and must not for awhile; neither have I seen the Dean* since you went the last time; he had a severe cold upon him, and said he

* Of St. Paul's, Dr. Tillotson.

would go into the country for air. Your information concerning the Dean, I believe in part to be true, but not in the whole; as thus: I believe the Dean thinks it is fit Mr. Hartlib should be considered; but never pitched on this, or that, only that he should have something, but did not recommend him to this; and I conclude so far from this reason, that when Doctor Sharp spoke to the Lord Nottingham, to desire so much as to know whether he had spoke to the King in such a one's behalf or not, that he might recommend such a one (Jekyl by name) or whether he would think fit to do it at all? His answer was, it was out of his hand; it lay between the King and the Dean, for Hartlib had been recommended, and the Dean of St. Paul's had put in a caveat.

Now if the Dean had recommended the man, he might then at the same time have obtained the condition, and not put in a caveat. So I do not go upon what the Dean says, but what I gather otherwhere; though I faithfully believe any thing he says to be true. As to Mr. Jekyl, he speaks as well of him as you can do yourself; but whether he will labour to put by Mr. Hartlib, that he may be recommended, I cannot tell; when I see him I will do all I can to serve you, if it goes his way. I dare be confident he will take a due care you shall not be put upon any thing that will be a contradiction to your circumstances.

As to the Prebendary, I know not what to say to it. If you are not obliged to swear, why should you not modestly represent the matter where it will be understood; though I would advise you to be cautious, and make sure of something first, if that can be.

I am sorry you jar so with a prelate, that I am sure was tender towards you, in the beginning of this government, and you believed it, and there was good reason to do so; but it seems he did something afterward contrary to the first beginnings, which I am also sorry for, and wish you would soften (for your own sake) as much as you can. You must needs think, Doctor, that the provocation the Bishop of Ely has given, does you no service, every one knowing your intimacy there; yet as there is no reason you should, so I assure myself, you will not suffer from it. But, on the other hand, you should be a little more wary: one should be wise, though harmless as doves. You may remember Lord Carmarthen said you was too late; which looks as if he knew the business: and yet the Dean and he are not great, that is, I mean the Dean is not his creature, though he may, and has, I believe, a respect for him; but his affairs lie in another way than to call him to be often where he is. If you saw how many walks I fetch to my boy in a day, you would think I have done a great work to scribble all this, from

Your friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

February 5, 1690-1.

rough was the ... passion. Th... all that k... after me, ... great an... it is be... other ... ment ... rathe... and ... tha... to ... sr ...

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

June 23, 1691.*

HONOURED MADAM,

I received your Ladyship's letter, together with that to my ... I shall return to him on Wednesday ... have desired Mr. Kemp to send him ... to give my very humble service to my Lord of Bedford, and to let his Lordship know how far I have been concerned in this affair. I had notice first from Mr. Attorney-General and Mr. Solicitor, and then from my Lord ..., that several persons, upon the account of publishing and dispersing several libels against me, were secured in order to prosecution. Upon which I went to wait upon them severally, and earnestly desired of them, that nobody might be punished upon my account. That this was not the first time I had experience of this kind of malice, which, how unpleasant soever to me, I thought it the wisest way to neglect, and the best to forgive it.† None of them said any thing to me of my Lord Russell, nor did it ever come into my thought to hinder any prosecution upon his account, whose reputation, I can truly say, is much dearer to me than mine own; and I was much more troubled at the barbarous usage done to his memory, and especially, since they have aggravated it by dispersing more copies; and, as I find by the letter to Mr. Fox, are supported in their insolence by a strong combination, I cannot but think it very fit for my Lord Bedford to bring them to condign punishment.

Twice last week I had my pen in my hand to have provoked you to a letter; and that I might once in my life have been before-hand with you in this way of kindness. I was both times hindered by the breaking in of company upon me. The errand of it would have been to have told you that, whether it be from stupidity, or from a present astonishment at the danger of my condition, or from some other cause, I find, that I bear the burden I dreaded so much, a good deal better than I could have hoped. David's acknowledgment to God runs in my mind, 'Who am I, O Lord God! or what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree, O Lord God?"‡ I hope that the same providence of God, which hath once over-ruled me in this thing, will some way or other turn it to good.

The Queen's extraordinary favour to me, to a degree much beyond my expectation, is no small support to me; and I flatter myself with hopes, that my friends will continue their kindness to me; especially that the best friend I ever had, will not be the less so to me now that I need friends most.

* From his draught in short-hand.

† Upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this:—'These are libels; I pray God forgive the authors; I do.'—*Sherlock.*

‡ 1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17.

I pray to God continually to preserve you and yours, and particularly at this time, to give my Lady Cavendish a happy meeting with her Lord, and to grant them both a long and happy life together.

I am, Madam,
Your most faithful and humble servant,
JO. CANT.

L. RUSSELL TO *(supposed)* ARCHB. TILLOTSON.

IN wants and distresses of all kinds one naturally flies to a sure friend, if one is blessed with any such. This is the reason of the present address to you, which is burdened with this request, if you think it fit, to give the inclosed to the Queen. My letter is a petition to her Majesty, to bestow upon a gentleman a place that is now fallen by the death of Mr. Herbert; it is Auditor of Wales, value about 400*l.* a year. He is, if I do not extremely mistake, fit for it, and worthy of it; he is Knight of the Shire for Carmarthenshire: it would please me on several accounts, if I obtain it. Now every thing is so soon chopped upon and gone, that a slow way would defeat me, if nothing else does; and that I fear from Lord Devonshire if he was in town; besides, I should not so distinctly know the Queen's answer, and my success, as I shall I know do by your means, if you have no scruple to deliver my letter; if you have, pray use me as I do you, and in the integrity of your heart tell me so. I could send it to Lady Darby; it is only the certainty of some answer makes me pitch as I do. Nay, perhaps it were more proper to send it to the Queen's Secretary; but I am not versed in the court ways, it is so lately since I have loved them. Therefore be free, and do as you think most fit.

I intend not to detain you long; but the many public and signal mercies we have of late received are so reviving, notwithstanding the black and dismal scenes which are constantly before me, and particularly on these sad months, I must feel the compassions of a wise and good God, to these late sinking nations, and to the Protestant interest all the world over, and all good people also. I raise my spirit all I can, and labour to rejoice in the prospect of more happy days, for the time to come, than some ages have been blessed with. The goodness of those instruments God has called forth, to work this great work by, swells one's hopes.

July 24, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO QUEEN MARY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I HUMBLY beg leave to address myself to your Majesty, and to say this truth, that it is a very sensible trouble to me, when I do importune your Majesty: yet I do sometimes submit, because I would not be quite useless to such as hope for some benefit by my means, and I desire to do what good I can.

I know your Majesty feels that life is a labour to the highest; but, Madam, you are blessed with a portion of

goodness big enough to be content with it, in order to serve those ends of Providence which are certainly wise and good, though dark to the inhabitants of the earth.

I do, in all humility, ask pardon for my request on the behalf of Mr. Richard Vaughan,* that he may succeed Colonel Herbert (lately killed in Ireland) as Auditor of Wales. He is a lawyer, a Welchman, and so well esteemed of in his country, that he serves as Knight of the Shire for Camarthenshire. I believe him every way fit for the office, or I should not do so much for him, since I think it a great matter to disquiet your Majesty in this kind, and could with more joy pay a considerable duty to your Majesty, than receive a profit for myself or friend; but my meanness and my misfortunes are a bar to all such hopes.

I pray God still to direct and prosper your Majesty, preserve the person of the King, and bless with success all his designs, and so complete his blessing and compassions to all good people all the world over. The late public mercies fill with hopes

Your Majesty's
Most humble, most dutiful,
And most faithful subject,
R. RUSSELL.

July 24, 1691.

QUEEN MARY TO LADY RUSSELL.

I AM sorry my Lady Russell knows me so little, or judges so wrong of the kindness I have for her, to think she needs make an excuse for writing to me. I shall never think it a trouble to hear from you, and should be very glad to do what you desire; but as I was wholly unacquainted with the place, and believe there is no great haste in the filling it, so I left all who spoke to me at liberty to write for themselves; so that it is likely the King may have disposed of it before I could let him know your desire. If it comes time enough, I am persuaded he will be as willing to please you in it as I am myself.

You are very much in the right to believe I have cause enough to think this life not so fine a thing as it may be others do; that I lead at present (besides the pain I am almost continually in for the King), it is so contrary to my own inclination, that it can be neither easy nor pleasant; but I see one is not ever to live for one's self. I have had many years of ease and content, and was not so sensible of my own happiness as I ought, till I lost it; but I must be content with what it pleases God; and this year have reason to praise him hitherto for the successes in Ireland, the news of which came so quick upon one another, that made me fear we had some ill to expect from other places; but I trust in God that will not be, though it looks as if we must hope for little good either from Flanders or sea. The King continues, God be praised, very well; and though I tremble at the thoughts of it, yet I cannot but wish a battle well over; and for that at sea, I wish it as heartily as Mr. Russell himself.

* Related to Lady Russell's first husband.

I have heard nothing all this while of your petition, which I am sorry for, wishing for any occasion to shew how really I am, and always shall be,

Your very affectionate friend,

MARIE R.

Whitehall, July 30, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY *(supposed)* ALINGTON.

I MIGHT have told you before you left us, my dear sister, that I took the opportunity I had of being alone with your father at the lodge on Thursday, when you went to the leads, to speak to him in that concern you committed to me; but being my success is not exactly suitable to your desires, I would not venture to abate of your good humour amongst so many of your friends that take so great a pleasure in it. And to tell you true, I had rather write than speak, when what I have to say is not grateful, neither to me who am to speak, nor to them I am to speak it to. But thus it is: when I had spoke, my Lord immediately replied, Daughter, this is not new to me; I have been spoke to in it; and I can give no other answer than I have done already; which is, that I have lately disbursed great sums, and my estate stands charged with a considerable debt, which must be raised when I die; but this I have done, and she knows it, but you may tell it her again, that I have left both her daughters very considerable legacies, though I do not care to name what.

This is what his Lordship said to me as punctually as I can set it down. He did not tell me who had moved him in it. How you will like my report I know not, but I hope you think of me as I know myself to be; if it happen otherwise it is but a little more weight to that heavy burden I have felt the weight of now full eight years, and as I have been wonderfully supported, so I have an humble confidence I shall be, the few remaining days I have left to live. Blessed be the mercies of God, who gives us joy, hope, and comfort in believing; and whatever the methods of Providence are, or may be, the final issue will be delight for evermore. Were that blessed state only a rest from the labour and toils of life, how welcome must it be? but as the Psalmist says, 'at thy right hand there are 'pleasures for evermore; and in order to attain to this blessedness, which our Saviour, with the price of his blood, purchased for us, we should stand in awe, and often remember that place of Scripture, where God says of himself, I am with you while you are with me. Let us strive faithfully to walk in his ways, and then our pensive and most solemn thoughts will be our best, and soon calm all tumultuous ones, that the troubles and crosses of this world naturally lead us to. I heartily pray both you and I may experience the sweetness of such meditation; then we shall meet with a becoming patience the great day of consolation.

August 16, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY *(supposed)* ALINGTON.*

My dear sister, I have not yet had resolution to speak to you this way, nor know I now what to say. Your misfortune is too big to hope any thing I offer can allay the present rage of your sorrow. I pray for you, and I pity you, which is all I can do; and that I do most feelingly, not knowing how soon your case may be mine; and I want from you, what I would most willingly furnish you with—some consolation and truce from your extreme lamentation.

I hope that by this time your reason begins to get a power over your wasted spirits, and that you will let nature relieve herself. She will do it, if you do not obstruct her. There is a time and period for all things here. Nature will first prevail, but as soon as we can, we must think what is our duty, and pursue it as well as we are able. I beseech God to teach you to submit to this unlooked for, and in appearance sadly severe providence, and endue you with a quiet spirit, to wait for the day of consolation, when joy will be our portion to all eternity: in that day we shall meet again all our pious friends; all that have died in their innocence, and with them live a life of innocence and purity, and gladness for ever. Fit your thoughts with these undoubted truths, my dear sister, as much and as often as is possible. I know no other cure for such diseases; nor shall we miss one, if we endeavour, with God's grace, assisting, which he certainly gives to such as ask. God give you refreshments. I am,

Your, &c.

October 10, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO

The misfortunes of such as one extremely esteems grow our own, so that if my constant sad heart were not so soon touched as it is with deplorable accidents, I should yet feel a great deal of your just mourning; if sharing a calamity could ease you, that burden would be little; for as depraved an age as we live in, there is such a force in virtue and goodness that all the world laments with you; and yet, sure, Madam, when we part from what we love most that is excellent, it is our best support that nature, who will be heard first, does suffer reason to take place.

What can relieve so much as that our friend died after a well-spent life. Some losses are so surprising, and so great, one must not break in too soon, and therefore my sense of your calamity confined me to only a solicitous inquiry; and I doubt it is still a mistaken respect to dwell long upon such a subject. I will do no more than sign this truth, that I am,

Your, &c.

October 18, 1691.

* On the death of one of her daughters.

LADY RUSSELL TO MR. OWEN.

SIR,

How welcome the question I have to ask you will be, I know not, but I am much mistaken if the answer be not to my satisfaction.

I have had advice, and that but very lately, that my Lord Cavendish's friends intend to set him up for Westminster. He is come over, and now with me. I know you were invited by your friends to stand, and therefore suppose you have had an intent to do so. How far you are engaged I know not, nor how strong you find your interest. I do very well remember you asked me to speak to my Lord Bedford for his; I did it, and his answer was, he wished you a parliament-man with all his heart, because he thought you would vote well for your country; but having appeared for Phil. Howard, he did not care to be forward in opposing him if he stood. Now I have heard nothing of your concerns since this, and my Lord Bedford was so favourable in the matter, that he meant to move no way in it, till now he understands that Lord Cavendish looks after it. You may believe he cordially assists him: Lord Clare does so too, who else assisted Mr. Bridgman, but he now wants none, having submitted to a signification given him not to pretend to stand if Lord Cavendish did, it being of great concernment that he should not be baffled. Sir Stephen Fox thinks no more of it neither, for as soon as Lord Cavendish was named, he gave it up.* Now, Mr. Owen, if you can think fit to give an example, and declare you wish Lord Cavendish well in this thing, and as much as you can, give your interest to him, I find it is believed all others who have pretensions will do so too, except Bonithon, who I hear intends to stand it out to the last, upon a pure Tory interest; therefore I would fain have it come to a fair trial of skill between the two parties, which it cannot so well do if Lord Cavendish be not singly at the head of one of them, and that I reckon he will be if you desist. And indeed it would be too great a gratification to the Tories to recover at Westminster what they have so lately lost in the city, I mean their credit in elections.

Now, Mr. Owen, I should be glad of your opinion honestly in this matter; you must think that I am greatly concerned in it, and perhaps depended on in relation to you, who are more my acquaintance than you are to any of Lord Devonshire's family. I would by no means in the world have my Lord Cavendish contest in this matter and lose it, now at his first entrance into the world; but the good will of so many persons of quality and so approved of by his Majesty is not to be neglected neither; and I believe the good his father did in the House of Commons, when he was Lord Cavendish, will be of advantage to this. And it will not hurt his interest that he is married to my Lord Russell's daughter.

* In the parliament 1689-90, Sir Stephen Fox was member for Westminster, and in 1695; in the latter Lord Cavendish was member for Derby; which makes this letter somewhat mysterious.

All these things you can weigh much juster than I can lay them before you; and you know your strength, and what may weaken it, if you please to consider it, and when you have done so, if you resolve to oppose us, tell me ingenuously as much, and if you please, your reasons against my Lord's standing, and for your own, it will oblige,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

Oct. 23, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO QUEEN MARY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

THE King's safe return into England is so great a subject for rejoicing, with all the other mercies of this year, as it gives me courage to take upon me to congratulate to your Majesty so blessed and so desired a providence, most especially to yourself, and then to all your people, that the intolerable temper of envy and faction does not influence; blessed be God that their fault becomes their punishment.

My mind being, as it ought to be, as full of the present public joy as I am capable of, I am unwilling to put any thing in this paper that is of little moment, or looks like a particular interest. But, because I am very tender of multiplying these kind of troubles to your Majesty, and am also encouraged from your being pleased to take notice I had not presenetd my petition that I had humbly asked leave to do, I have at last put it into my Lady Darby's hands to present to your Majesty if you give leave. I could not before now get it done fit (as I thought) to shew to your Majesty; and now I have, considering the King's coming was so near you would not order any dispatch to a business like this, I have addressed my petition to his Majesty; and if I may obtain so much grace as your Majesty to recommend it to the King, I cannot doubt my success, though my request was much bigger than it is.

But if this is too much to ask, I humbly hope my fault may not be too great for your Majesty's forgiveness to your Majesty's

Most dutiful and most obedient subject,

R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, Oct. 23, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY DARBY.

As my Lady Darby is never wanting, so I hope she is never weary of doing good and charitable offices. This that I am now asking from her is of the last degree to me, it being, that my poor child may have the honour and advantage of your protection, and kind prudent advice, now at her first entrance into the world. She has (I think) wit enough to take well either caution or reproof from your Ladyship, and she is unexperienced enough to want it, and never been till now from too fond a mother, I doubt. My Lord Devonshire has called her out of my sight a little sooner than I thought we should have parted, my Lady Devonshire not being in town; but my Lord gives

me so good a reason for it (as the Queen's being best pleased it should be so), that if I had authority to do it, I would not keep her, since I would have all that is mine to pay, as I will ever do, a free obedience to all her Majesty's orders. I believe she will quite lose her credit for a dancer, for I find she cannot walk one dance out, it is so long since she learnt, and she will have so little time to practise, but I encourage her to be content to do ill, rather than do nothing when the Queen bids her do something. She will still grow better, I hope, every way a great while. I beg a thousand pardons of my Lady Darby for so long a trouble now, and so lasting a one as I have taken the liberty to ask of her; but a mother's concern will, I trust, excuse all the importunities of one that is, with true and great respect,

Your Ladyship's.

Oct. 28, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I WAS extremely well pleased, good Doctor, to see a letter from you; not that I ever was so injurious to you, as to believe I had less of your respect when I had none of your letters; and I expect the same justice on your part towards me, and I believe I have it; however, it is well to express it sometimes. The last I writ to you lies now in my dressing-room, over the chimney, with one inclosed in it for Lady Gainsborough, and one other to Lady Julian, for I did not know how to direct to you, you being gone from Windsor. I heard last night from my Lady Gainsborough, and was glad she could tell me her daughter Napier was better since her being quick. I pray God give her mother her life with comfort. I hear she has a lusty grand-child by her son. I would fain scribble longer to you, but it is a visiting day, and my boy is so earnest at my elbow that I would be going, I cannot deny him, but will myself, in hastily signing,

Your faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

December 29, 1691.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I AM so fully persuaded that Dr. Fitzwilliam knows my thoughts towards him, that I have never doubted he could misinterpret my receiving so well as I did, his kind inquiry after us, that morning I left Stratton; but when I read your note, verily meaning to write a few lines to thank you, I gave no answer for the man, and so I guess he went without any; for I was by one business or another so hurried the rest of the time I stayed, that I never remembered what was incumbent on me, and not being put in mind, left it undone, to my vexation when I did remember it.

The solemnity of the time, when I was come here, made me delay till the next week writing to you, and then not taking the first post of that next, my thoughts grew too in-

tent upon the sea affairs, to write letters: but God's holy name be ever praised for the happy close of that great business, which is marvellous in our eyes. May our praises and thanksgivings in some measure correspond to the good we have received, and that our biggest acknowledgments may not be expressed in ringing of bells and making of bonfires; but in recounting his many, and wonderful, and glorious mercies, and in carefully walking more obediently to his laws, which is all we can return to our Benefactor.

Notwithstanding our differences in some things, I am sure Doctor Fitzwilliam joins his thanksgivings with me in this victory over that proud persecutor of the protestant religion. The express this morning tells us, that the twelve ships Admiral Russell had pursued to the French shore were all burnt; the six biggest on Monday night, and the six less on Tuesday morning, with all their guns and ammunition; six were three-deck ships, and the other six, the least was of sixty guns. The fleet is now divided into three parts: the Admiral with one to Brest, to try if he can do any thing there; one of the less is to go to eastward, to look after six French ships said to be gone that way; and the other to cross between England and Dunkirk. I believe your newspapers at Chiltern tell you all, but being there is nothing newer, I would do it too; and as one can say nothing but what would be dull, after what I have said, I will conclude this from,

Your friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

May 26, 1692.

If Mrs. Napier is brought to bed, I would be glad to know it. And, good Doctor, present my service to Lady Worsley and Sir Robert.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I WILL say but little for myself, why you were so long without hearing from me, yet I could say much to my justification, but am more willing to come to the more touching and serious part of your last letter; not but I should be very sorry, indeed, if I suspected you had a thought I were unworthy towards you; I dare say you raise none upon appearances, and other reason you shall never have. In short, my daughter Cavendish being ill, carried me twice a day to Arlington-house, where I stayed till twelve and one o'clock at night, and much business, being near leaving London, and my eyes serving me no longer by candle-light, which perhaps was the biggest let of all, and hindered my doing what I desired and ought to do.

But to come to the purpose of yours, which I received the 13th of this lamentable month, the very day of that hard sentence pronounced against my dear friend and husband; it was the fast day, and so I had the opportunity of retiring without any taking notice of it, which pleases me best. What shall I say, Doctor? That I do live by your rules? No, I should lie. I bless God it has long been my purpose, with some endeavour, through mercy, to do it. I hope I may conclude I grieve without sinning;

yet I cannot attain to that love of God, and submission to all his providences, that I can rejoice in; however, I bless him for his infinite mercy, in a support that is not wrought from the world (though my heart is too much bound up in the blessings I have yet left) and I hope chiefly he has enabled me to rejoice in him as my everlasting portion, and in the assured hope of good things in the other world.

Good Doctor, we are travelling the same way, and hope, through mercy, to meet at the same happy end of all our labours here, in an eternal rest; and it is of great advantage to that attainment, communicating pious thoughts to each other: nothing on this side Heaven goes so near to it: and being where God is, it is Heaven. If he be in our hearts there will be peace and satisfaction, when one recollects the happiness of such a state (which, if my heart deceives me not, I hope is mine), and I will try to experience more and more that blessed promise—'Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will give you ease.' This day and this subject inclines me to be very long, and might to another be too tedious; but I know it is not so to Dr. Fitzwilliam, who uses to feast in the house of mourning. However, my time to open my chamber door is near; and I take some care not to affect in these retirements. In all circumstances I remain,

Sir,

Your constantly obliged friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

July 21, 1692.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY —— RUSSELL.

If ever I could retaliate with my sister Russell, it would be now, on the subject of death, when I have all this my saddest month been reflecting on what I saw and felt; and yet what can I say more, than to acquiesce with you, that it is a solemn thing to think of the consequences of death to believers and unbelievers! That it is a contemplation ought to be of force to make us diligent for the approaching change, I must own; yet I doubt it does so but on a few. That you are one of those happy ones, I conclude, if I knew no more reason for it than the bare conclusion of yours, that the bare meditation is sufficient to provoke to care; for when a heart is so well touched, it will act; and who has, perhaps, by an absolute surrender of herself, so knit her soul to God, as will make her dear in his sight. We lie under innumerable obligations to be his entirely; and nothing should be so attracting to us, as his miraculous love in sending his Son; but my still smart sorrow for earthly losses makes me know I loved inordinately, and my profit in the school of adversity has been small, or I should have long since turned my mourning into rejoicing thankfulness, that I had such a friend to lose; that I saw him I loved as my own soul take such a prospect of death, as made him, when brought to it, walk through the dark and shaded valley (notwithstanding the natural aversion of separation) without fearing evil: for if we in our limited degrees of goodness will not forsake those that

depend on us, much less can God cast us from him, when we seek to him in our calamity. And though he denied my earnest and repeated prayers, yet he has not denied me the support of his Holy Spirit, in this my long day of calamity, but enabled me in some measure to rejoice in him as my portion for ever; who has provided a remedy for all our griefs, by his sure promises of another life, where there is no death, nor any pain or trouble, but a fulness of joy in the presence of God, who made us, and loves us for ever.

LADY RUSSELL TO LADY SUNDERLAND.

YOUR kind letter, Madam, asks me to do much better for myself and mine, than to scribble so insignificantly as I do in a piece of paper; but for twenty several reasons yours must have the advantage you offer me with obliging earnestness a thousand times greater than I deserve, or there can be cause for, but that you have taken a resolution to be all goodness and favour to me. And indeed what greater mark can you almost give than remembering me so often, and letting me receive the exceeding advantage of your doing so, by reading your letters, which are all so edifying! When I know you are continually engaged in so great and necessary employments as you are, and have but too imperfect health, which to any other in the world but Lady Sunderland would unfit for at least so great dispatches as you are charged with. These are most visible tokens of providence, that every one that aims to do their duty shall be enabled to do it.

I hope your natural strength is so great, that it will in some time, if you do your part, master what has been accidentally in the disorder of it. Health, if one strictly considers, is the first of earthly blessings; for even the conversation of friends, which as to spiritual profits, as you excellently observe, is the nearest approach we can make to heaven while we live in these tabernacles of clay; so it is in a temporal sense also, the most pleasant and the most profitable improvement we can make of the time we are to spend on earth. But, as I was saying, if our bodies are out of tune, how ill do we enjoy what in itself is so precious! and how often must we choose, if we can attain it, a short slumber, that may take off our sense of pain, than to accept what we know in worth excels almost to infiniteness! No soul can speak more feelingly than my poor self on this subject; who can truly say, my friendships have made all the joys and troubles of my life; and yet who would live and not love! Those who have tried the insipidness of it would, I believe, never choose it. Mr. Waller says—"'Tis (with singing) all we know they do above.' And it is enough; for if there is so charming a delight in the love, and suitableness in humours, to creatures! what must it be to our clarified spirits to love in the presence of God! Can there be a greater contemplation to provoke to diligence for our preparation to that great change, where we shall be perfected, and so continue for ever! I see I have scribbled a great deal of paper; I

dare not read it, lest I should be sorry Lady Sunderland should; and yet can now send her nothing if not this, for my eyes grow ill so fast, I resolve to do nothing of this sort by candle light.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

I HAVE not used to be so long without holding a correspondence with my good friend Doctor Fitzwilliam; but I can do no more as I have done, therefore do works of necessity in the first place; and when I think I have not done too much, I proceed to those of pleasure. If I had found leisure to be so employed, you had been told sooner that I have received yours of the 23d August. I thank you, Sir, for all in it; and would gladly say something to every thing in particular, but I must restrain my desires, being resolved to be strict in observing the directions I am under for my bad eyes, which I am not sensible I hurt by what I can do, which is writing; as for reading, I am past that contentment, especially print; your hand is plain, and so well known to me, I can yet make shift to see it; and while I can, desire to do so, if you please.

I have had a strong inclination to have discoursed a business of weight with you, no less than the marriage of my daughter; if Lady Gainsborough thought of it, you had a hint of it earlier than almost any body from me. I do own when it was first proposed, I was as it were surprised; but when I came seriously to consider, and discourse with her friends, and also with such others as I could then get to talk with, and found reason to conclude that a reverse of Parliament was all the scruple I need to have, I was content to hear more of it, and not refuse the best match in England for an imaginary religious scruple. For, as on the one hand, I am joyful to see my daughters bestowed to the best fortunes in England, so, on the other, if he had a kingdom with his, I would not agree to put her knowingly in circumstances that I should doubt God's blessing would not go with. But if a divorce is just, as agreeing with the word of God, I take a marriage after it certainly to be so.* And for the estate, we enjoy them by man's law, and that man can alter, and so may alter again; which is a risk I am willing to run, if there should be enough left.

* In 1670, John Lord Roos, or Ross, (afterward Earl and Duke of Rutland) who had married Lady Anne Pierpoint, daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorchester, by whom he had two sons, having brought proofs of adultery against her, and obtained a sentence of divorce in the spiritual court, as it amounted only to a separation from bed and board, he moved for a bill to dissolve the bond; and an act of parliament was passed disabling her issue to inherit any of his lands or honours, and enabling him to marry again.—He then married Diana, daughter of the Earl of Allesbury, by whom he had no issue.—His third wife was Catharine, daughter to Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; the eldest son, John Lord Roos, married Catharine, daughter of Lord William and Lady Rachel Russell, who had four sons and four daughters.

The young people have just seen one another. He is a pretty youth, and, as I am told, virtuously bred, and is free from all ill; his tutor was with him; he is a non-swearer, a divine, a man of parts, they say, and a good liver. You see, though I may not think the better of him, I do not think the worse. This is the business sticks closest to my thoughts, and so I am apt to enlarge to such friends as you. For the chat of the town, as the successor to my poor sister,* &c. I will not venture to hurt my eyes for it; so will close this from

Your faithful friend and servant,
R. RUSSELL.

September 19, 1692.

QUEEN MARY TO LADY RUSSELL.

I CONFESS myself lazy enough in writing, yet that has not hindered my answering Lady Russell's letter, but staying for Mr. Russell's own answer, to which you referred me.

I have seen him this day, and find he is resolved to be Mr. Russell still; I could not press him farther in a thing he seemed so little to care for, so there is an end of that matter. Whether the King will think I have done it enough or no I cannot tell, but it is not in my nature to compliment, which makes me always take people at their words. I was glad to hear Lord Bedford is so well, and that your eyes are no worse.

You are so taken up I hear with your daughter's marriage, that I will not make my letter any longer; besides it is easier to say many things than to write them, and at present I have not much time; I hope soon to have more by the King's coming, who I expect in a few days, if it please God to give good weather for his journey.

I shall say no more now, but assure you nobody can more sincerely wish you all imaginable satisfaction in what you are about, and all things else, than I do, who am really, and will shew myself on all occasions,

Your very affectionate friend,
MARIE R.

Whitehall, Oct. 18, 1692.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

WHILE I can see at all, I must do a little more than I can when God sees it best that outward darkness shall fall upon me, which will deprive me of all society at a distance, which I esteem exceeding profitable and pleasant; but still I have full hope I shall rejoice in that He will not deny me his great grace to strengthen me with might, by his Spirit in the inner man. Then I shall walk in the right way, till I reach the joys of eternal endurance.

I must ever thank my friends for their good thoughts of me; if I know my own heart, you are just to me in those

* Lord Montague's second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, widow of Christopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle

that concern that affair; my poor child must have a part, if it take effect. My daily prayers are to be directed by his Holy Spirit, and that it may proceed or fall as he in mercy sees it best. I cannot write long enough together, to say much to the argument you do gently hint your mind concerning it. He has been here a week, and there appears no disposition in him that is blameable, though his age is not enough to compose him skilful in disguise, and so with art to conceal his inclinations; neither are his tender years proof against impressions, and imbibing bad as well as good. The gentleman you mentioned was with him, and, I believe, has done well his duty. His want of complaisance gives me no prejudice, or so little, that if he were my son, I would put him into his hands from me, for some time to the university, where I think our nobility should pass some of their time; it has been for many years neglected; I must use that term, because I think it a proper one.

We are, God prospering our intentions, as near our remove to London, as the middle of this month is to us, where I should hope to meet Lady Gainsborough, but that your last hints nothing of it. Pray present my most humble service unto her, and continue just to me, in believing me to be

Your faithful and affectionate friend to serve you,
R. RUSSELL.

November 5, 1692.

LADY RUTLAND* TO LADY RUSSELL.

THE world may blame me for receiving the honour of a word from dear Lady Russell, without returning my acknowledgments for it immediately; but I am too well acquainted with your Ladyship's goodness to believe you will impute any little delay of my thanks to any direspect, knowing I only spare you the trouble of reading too often dull empty letters; and that I have those obligations to your Ladyship, that it is impossible while I have any sense, either to spare my pains or self, when it could be to pay you any real service.

I hope your Ladyship will do me the justice to believe, that the account your last gave of Mr. Euers being now on the dispatching part, and the hopes you give me to wait upon you some time in June at Woborne, gave me great satisfaction; and that you will add to that the esteem which is due to yourself, and dear Mrs. Russell, from me; and then you cannot but be assured that nothing can give me more content, than seeing your daughter mine also; for both before and after that desired happiness, there can be no command you can lay upon me, which will not be obeyed with pleasure, and taken as the greatest favour can be bestowed upon,

Madam,
Your Ladyship's most obedient, faithful,
Humble servant,
K. RUTLAND.

April 19, 1693.

* Lord Campden's daughter.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

THE kindest marks you can give me, good Doctor, of your having me in your thoughts, I received as you designed I should, before, and yet very near the day that I must ever give a solemn regard to; but, alas! my bad eyes serve me now so little that I could not read your papers, and tell you that I had done so in one day. 'Tis mortifying, yet I hope I do not repine, but, on the contrary, rejoice in the goodness of my God to me, that when I feared the utter loss of sight, has let me thus long see the light, and by it given me time to prepare for that day of bodily darkness which perhaps must soon overtake me. And what a grace is it that I should first settle my two daughters, as I expect to do? though as near as we take this in hand to be, it may never take effect, nay, shall not (if God is pleased to grant my request) unless it be a thing pleasing in his sight, and which his blessing shall go along with.

I am apt to say unless they shall be happy in it, but I find a distinction to be made between being pleasing in God's sight, and their being happy, as we term it, that is; being full of worldly enjoyments, and taking excessive delight in their enjoyments. This God may withhold in mercy to their future good. So that I consider, if the act is acceptable to him, all shall work to their good (if they love and serve him), but whether by a prosperous, pleasant gale, or struggling with stormy weather, that I matter not so much, their eternal interest being my care. And this I beg your joining with me in hearty prayer for. I thank you, Sir, for the meditation so choicely provided for me, who must remember my feeble sight, since it remembers me, who will be

Your constant and obliged friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey, July 25, 1693.

SIR JAMES FORBES* TO LADY RUSSELL.

MADAM,

I COULD not miss this opportunity of giving your Ladyship some account of Lord Ross and Lady Ross's journey,† and their reception at Belvoir, which looked more like the progress of a King and Queen through their country, than that of a bride and bridegroom's going home to their father's house. At their first entry into Leicestershire, they were received by the High Sheriff at the head of all the gentlemen of the country, who all paid their respects, and complimented the lady bride at Harborough. She was attended next day to this place by the same gentlemen, and

* The gentleman by whom Lord Cavendish sent his offers of assistance to Lord Russell, after his condemnation.

† Lady Russell's second daughter, Catharine, was married to John, Lord Ross, (afterwards Duke of Rutland) on August 17, 1693.

by thousands of other people, who came from all places of the country to see her, and to wish them both joy, even with huzzas and acclamations.

As they drew near to Belvoir, our train increased, with some coaches, and with fresh troops of Aldermen, and Corporations, besides a great many Clergymen, who presented the bride and bridegroom (for so they are still called) with verses upon their happy marriage.

I cannot better represent their first arrival at Belvoir, than by the Woborne song that Lord Bedford liked so well; for at the gate were four-and-twenty fiddlers all in a row; four-and-twenty trumpeters, with their tan tara ra ra's; four-and-twenty ladies, and as many parsons; and in great order they went in procession to the great apartment, where the usual ceremony of saluting and wishing of joy past, but still not without something represented in the song, as very much tittle-tattle, and fiddle-fiddle. After this the time past away till supper in visiting all the apartments of the house, and in seeing the preparations for the sack posset, which was the most extraordinary thing I did ever see, and much greater than it was represented to be. After supper, which was exceeding magnificent, the whole company went in procession to the great hall; the bride and bridegroom first, and all the rest in order, two and two; there it was the scene opened, and the great cistern appeared, and the healths began; first in spoons, some time after in silver cups; and though the healths were many, and great variety of names given to them, it was observed after one hour's hot service, the posset did not sink above one inch, which made my Lady Rutland call in all the family, and then upon their knees the bride and bridegroom's health, with prosperity and happiness, was drunk in tankards brim full of sack-posset. This lasted till past twelve o'clock, &c.

Madam,
Your most humble and faithful servant,
J. FORBES.

1693.

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

Lambeth-house, Aug. 26, 1693.

MADAM,

THOUGH nobody rejoices more than myself in the happiness of your Ladyship and your children, yet in the hurry in which you must needs have been, I could not think it fit for to give you the disturbance so much as of a letter, which otherwise had both in friendship and good manners, been due upon this great occasion. But now that busy time is, in a good measure, over, I cannot forbear, after so many as I am sure have been before me, to congratulate with your Ladyship this happy match of your daughter; for so I heartily pray it may prove, and have great reason to believe it will, because I cannot but look upon it as part of the comfort and reward of your patience and submission to the will of God, under that sorest and most heavy affliction that could have befallen you; and when God

sends and intends a blessing, it shall have no sorrow or evil with it.

I intreat my Lord Ross and his Lady to accept of my humble service, and my hearty wishes of great and lasting happiness.

My poor wife is at present very ill, which goes very near me; and having said this, I know we shall have your prayers. I intreat you to give my humble service to my Lord of Bedford, and my Lord Cavendish and his Lady. I could, upon several accounts, be melancholy, but I will not upon so joyful an occasion. I pray God to preserve and bless your Ladyship, and all the good family at Woburn, and to make us all concerned to prepare ourselves with the greatest care for a better life.

I am, with all true respect and esteem,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most faithful

And most humble servant,

JO. CANT.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

YOU will be so just to me, good Doctor, as never to mistrust my silence; if I did not believe so, I should be in some pain now, having two letters from you by me, that if I am not very unworthy will make me take a pleasure to say something in return of so much good will; and it is then an ill mark not to have writ in so long a time, being I know none but what are self-lovers enough to do what pleases them. Yet so has been my case, I would have been glad to have conversed with you, good Doctor, but could not, as my present circumstances are. Heretofore, whatever engagements I had a days, the nights were free to me; but my ill eyes can now not serve me at all, when once a candle is lighted; so that since Lord Rutland came hither, I have been mistress of no time; if I had, I should not have lived in a continual noise and hurry as I have done. I did excuse my going to Belvoir with all the company, but followed them before I had acquitted myself of all my formal congratulations; for if I do more than a very little at a time, I find my eyes ache, and that I am sure is naught, and a light sight is too precious a good to be neglected.

I thank you, Sir, for all your thoughts on the subject which filled mine this last year, but I cannot attempt to say any thing in return; it would be too long a discourse for me this way. I hope I have done my duty well to my daughters, and that they shall enjoy a lasting happiness; but above all, my prayer is, that the end of their faith may be the salvation of their souls; that they may be endued with such graces here, as may fit them for the glories of the state hereafter.

If your retirement pleases you, indeed, and that you do not deceive yourself, I have nothing to say against it, if your health does not abate, which certainly will, if your mind does not agree perfectly with what your will has chosen: let that be a timely monitor to you. Man is a sociable creature, and you by disposition are made for it, and

by the accidents of your life ever used to it, so that it is very new to you to be very solitary long together; and while you have a competency, Doctor, deny not yourself the innocent, nay, the profitable comforts of life. I apprehend but one inconveniency, if you do a little less sequester yourself, and that I hope you are of a more temperate spirit than to draw on yourself; but you are best judge. I exceed my bounds exceedingly, for I take little paper to night, no more than one side, not to turn over, for if I do, this is the issue. Farewell, good Doctor, for this time.

I am constantly, your friend to serve you,

R. RUSSELL.

Sept. 18, 1693.

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON TO LADY RUSSELL.

Lambeth House, Oct. 13, 1693.

I HAVE forborne, Madam, hitherto, even to acknowledge the receipt of your Ladyship's letter, and your kind concernment for mine and my wife's health, because I saw how unmerciful you were to your eyes in your last letter to me; so that I should certainly have repented the provocation I gave you to it by mine, had not so great and good an occasion made it necessary.

I had intended this morning to have sent Mr. Vernon to Woburn, to have inquired of your Ladyship's health, having but newly heard, that since your return from Belvoir, a dangerous fever had seized upon you. But yesterday morning, at council, I happily met with Mr. Russell, who to my great joy, told me, that he hoped that danger was over; for which I thank God with all my heart, because I did not know how fatal the event might be, after the care and hurry you have been in, and in so sickly a season.

The King's return is now only hindered by contrary winds. I pray God to send him safe to us, and to direct him what to do when he is come. I was never so much at my wit's end concerning the public. God only can bring us out of the labyrinth we are in, and I trust he will.

My wife gives her most humble service and thanks to you for your concernment for her, and does rejoice equally with me for the good news of your recovery.

Never since I knew the world, had I so much reason to value my friends. In the condition I now am, I can have no new ones; or, if I could, I can have no assurance that they are so. I could not at a distance believe, that the upper end of the world was so hollow as I find it. I except a very few, of whom I can believe no ill till I plainly see it.

I have ever earnestly coveted your letters; but now I do as earnestly beg of you to spare them for my sake as well as your own. With my very humble service to my good Lord of Bedford, and to all yours, and my hearty prayers to God for you all, I remain,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obliged

And obedient servant,

JO. CANT.*

* The Archbishop's correspondence with Lady Russell had

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

GOOD DOCTOR,

THOUGH I will not say I am to blame in not writing, yet I pronounce myself so, by not taking care you might know I had your letter, and the book, which was writ with so much care, that I found no pain at all in reading it. I cannot say the like to the doubtfulness of thoughts I perceive you, Sir, engaged in. I am not furnished with abilities (my brains and eyes would both fail me in the task), if I should attempt to effect what I wish. So I leave you to yourself, being satisfied you are not so grievously wanting to yourself, as not to have sought all arguments to convince your judgment, that you might honestly submit to the present government, which by the wonderful providence of God is established in these nations, for maintaining the protestant religion in its purity, both at home and abroad, and which without such a miraculous revolution was not, in human reason, to be expected in all this part of the world. Sure this has been the work of his own hand; and although he may have used instruments to bring this about, may not you judge it a blessing to them to be so made use of? And as all the methods of the Almighty are good, and what we have lately felt does not seem in displeasure, why you may not rejoice, and enjoy the blessed fruits of it, is a circumstance I am sorry for; and so I have done. Only I will add thus much more, that I am far from being convinced, let your own scruples be what they can be, that this is a case to engage your contending in, as a mark of the true and heroic spirit of Christianity, attaining towards perfection, as the ministers of the gospel should, especially, embrace. Stay, and endure for the example, comfort, and support of others. Remember, good Doctor, it is the calling in popery must be the issue, which God in his watchful providence, has, in appearance, put away from us. And I hope all who have accepted of the way, you do not judge hardly of. I know you do not; and therefore, though you cannot satisfy your mind, discourage not others. I am sure the Bishop of Bath and Wells excited others to comply, when he could not bring himself to do so, but rejoiced that others could. I will break off abruptly, because else I see I cannot. You

been interrupted on her part for many months, by the disorder in her eyes increasing to such a degree, that she was obliged on the 27th of June, 1694, to submit to the operation of couching. Upon this occasion his Grace drew up a prayer two days after, in which he touched upon the death of her husband, 'whom the holy and righteous Providence (says he) permitted [under a colour of law and justice] to be [unjustly] cut off from the land of the living.' But over the words between the brackets, after the first writing, he drew a line, as intending to erase them, probably from a reflection that they might be too strong, or less suitable to a prayer. June 28, he wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury, 'I cannot forbear to tell you, that my Lady Russell's eye was couched yesterday morning with very good success; God be praised for it.' *Birch.*

cannot misconstrue any thing I have said; I know you cannot think my meaning bad towards you.

If you resolve upon retiring to some neutral town, in what I can be of help to you, you may, Sir, count upon it. I shall expect to hear when, and in what. A pass, I suppose, is no difficult thing to obtain. I have scribbled so much, I must not engage in telling stories of my son: In short, if they do not deceive me whom I trust, all goes very well. I intend ever to remain, as I am at present,

Good Doctor Fitzwilliam's

Faithful friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.

Oxford, May 17, 1696.

LADY RUSSELL TO DR. FITZWILLIAM.

MANY obstacles have been in my way to prevent my taking notice that I have received lately two letters from you, good Doctor; observe, I say, giving you notice that I had them; for as to the answering them, I am not so conceited of myself to go about it. I will only say, that I am glad nothing of such a nature can be put upon me, as should try my strength both of judgment and fortitude, which I mistrust would both prove very weak; whilst in the mean time I see men, whose sincerity and ability I have equal value for, point blank contrary one to the other; yet both will be, I doubt not, accepted at the great day of trial; and therefore I will take leave, Sir, to wish you converted.

Because I know I cannot manage the argument, I will give it over lest I hurt the cause I would give credit to. If I had a better talent, I would not give you over as I must do; nor, however (it is possible), if I had the sight I had once; but, as it is, I must be content, and am thankfully so.

My daughter's condition will now very soon call me back to Southampton-house. I purpose it before the middle of July. I thank God we are very healthful in this town.

I am, sincerely,

Your friend to serve you to my best power,

R. RUSSELL.

Oxford, June 15, 1696.

N. B. Soon after this Doctor Fitzwilliam died, having appointed all the letters which Lady Russell writ to him, to be returned to her Ladyship, that they might be printed; many of which do not appear.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY TO LADY RUSSELL.

I DO heartily congratulate with your Ladyship for this new blessing. God has now heard your prayers, with relation to two of your children, which is a good earnest that he will hear them in due time with relation to the third. You begin to see your children's children; God grant you may likewise see peace upon Israel. And now that God has so built up your house, I hope you will set yourself to build a house of prayer for the honour of his name.

You have passed through very different scenes of life.

God has reserved the best to the last. I do make it a standing part of my poor prayers twice a day, that as now your family is the greatest in its three branches that has been in England in our age, so that it may in every one of these answer those blessings by an exemplary holiness, and that both you and they may be public blessings to the age and nation.

I do not think of coming up yet this fortnight, if I am not called for.* I humbly thank your Ladyship for giving me this early notice of so great a blessing to you. I hope it shall soon be completed by my Lady Ross's full recovery. Mrs. Burnet is very sensible of the honour your Ladyship does her in thinking of her, and does particularly rejoice in God's goodness to you. I am, with the highest sense of gratitude and respect possible, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble, most obedient,
And most obliged servant,
G. I. SARUM.

Salisbury, Oct. 31, 1696.

LADY RUSSELL TO SIR ROBERT WORSLEY.

SIR ROBERT,

IF my letters were of service to you, I should not reserve them, only for such times as I serve ends of my own by it, as I now design to do, being the errand of this paper is to obtain your opinion, if you please to give it, upon a few questions I will put to you. By the death of Mr. Morin, Sir, you know there wants a presentation of Kingsworthy, and a Vicar at Michel-devever. I find both places well disposed to receive Mr. Swayne. I hope he is worthy of the gift, and believe you think him so. If you should know any thing why he is not, though as a friend you might wish he were the incumbent, yet I am persuaded that in a just regard to the weight of the matter, and to me who ask it from you, if you know any visible reason that he is not a proper person for such a preferment, that you will caution me in it; for I profess to you, Sir, I think the care of so many souls is a weighty charge; and I have been willing to take time to consider whose hands I put these into. I can, with all my scruples, make no exception to Mr. Swayne, if his vapours are

* The Marquis of Halifax said of Bishop Burnet,—'He makes many enemies, by setting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of splendour, but of all unnecessary plenty, his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling, are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies in the opinion of those divines, who have softened the primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the present frality of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, since it is in their own defence; or that from a principle of self-preservation they should endeavour to suppress a man whose parts are shame, and whose life is a scandal to them.'—Both he and Tillotson, as well as many other Christian Bishops, were averse to pluralities and non-residence.

not too prevalent to permit his being free and active in such a charge. But I hope it is not so; and if you concur with me, I will bestow them upon him; for I do not see how I can part them. And now, Sir, I come with my second question to you, when I have told you the provision I would make for curates. I have met with a paper signed by Mr. Morin to my father, in which he engages to allow the curate at Kingsworthy fifty pounds a year; and that at Straton, who served Popham also, thirty pounds a-year; Northington is not mentioned in it. Now, Sir, I would, in short, have the same stipends, as this paper signifies were formerly agreed on, to be honestly made good by the next incumbent, and during my pleasure. There will be ten pounds a-year more coming in to him than has been formerly, and as much to the curate who serves Straton: for a few years ago my dear Lord added twenty pounds a-year, during his will to do so, to be so divided; and without a very justifiable reason I shall not withhold it; and forty shillings a-year more to the Vicar, upon an agreement for some orchards taken into the park.

From this long digression I return to my question, which arises from this purpose of mine that I must offer to you. I know it is a thing required by many, to take a bond for resigning at the patron's pleasure. I have no disposition at all to do so; but to this I have, that I would have a bond to perform these conditions to the Curates, unless I dispense with him; and also, that in case of non-residence, he shall resign to me.* For the case often happens, they get another living, and the situation it may be more pleasant, then put in a Curate for a small stipend, and I have no remedy. That this is practicable I believe, though I am ignorant enough, and am not in a place where I can be well informed. But I refer myself, Sir Robert, to you, and in what you see cause to oppose me, pray do it; you will oblige me by it; and, I think, I shall submit to reason. But if what I ask is (as I conceive it is) practicable, I should take it as a favour if you would discourse Mr. Swayne upon it, and then instruct Mr. Mewes to draw up an instrument to the purposes I have signified. When I hear from you I will be ready to——

LADY RUSSELL TO KING WILLIAM.

SIR,

I RATHER choose to trouble your Majesty with a letter, than be wanting in my duty, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to acknowledge the honour and favour I am told your Majesty designs for Lord Rutland and his family, in which I am so much interested.

It is an act of great goodness, Sir, in you; and the generous manner you have been pleased to promise it in, makes the honour, if possible, greater. As you will lay

* Residence would, at the Council of Trent, have been declared to be *jure divino*, which the Pope himself could not dispense with, but that it was over-ruled by the intrigues of his creatures; so that, however insisted on by some Bishops, they prevented its being so decreed.

an eternal obligation on that family, be pleased to allow me to answer for all those I am related to; they will look on themselves equally honoured with Lord Rutland, by your favour to his family, and I am sure will express their acknowledgments to your Majesty in the most dutiful manner, to the best of their services; in which I earnestly desire my son Bedford may exceed, as he has been first, and early honoured with the marks of your favour. And I hope I may live to see your Majesty has bestowed one more upon him, who appears to me to have no other ambition, except what he prefers above all others, making himself acceptable to your Majesty, and living in your good opinion.

I presume to say, I believe there is no fault in his intentions of duty towards your Majesty, nor, I trust, ever will be; and that as his years increase, his performances will better declare the faithfulness of his mind, which will hugely enlarge the comforts of

Your Majesty's most humble, most dutiful,
And most obedient servant,
R. RUSSELL.

N.B. Lady Russell's endorsement on the foregoing letter, is in these words:

To the KING, 1701-2, *about first of March, and found in his pocket when dead.*

LADY RUSSELL TO (ROUVIGNY) EARL OF GALWAY.*

ALAS! my dear Lord Galway, my thoughts are yet all disorder, confusion, and amazement; and I think I am very incapable of saying or doing what I should.

I did not know the greatness of my love to his person, till I could see it no more. When nature, who will be mistress, has in some measure, with time, relieved herself, then, and not till then, I trust the Goodness, which hath no bounds, and whose power is irresistible, will assist me by his grace to rest contented with what his unerring providence has appointed and permitted. And I shall feel ease in this contemplation, that there was nothing uncomfortable in his death, but the losing him. His God was, I verily believe, ever in his thoughts. Towards his last hours he called upon him, and complained he could not pray his prayers. To what I answered, he said, he wished for more time to make up his accounts with God.

* Lady Russell's only son, Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford, died of the small-pox, in May, 1711, in the 31st year of his age; upon which occasion this letter was written.—To this affliction succeeded, in Nov. 1711, the loss of her daughter, the Duchess of Rutland, who died in child-bed. Lady Russell, after seeing her in the coffin, went to her other daughter, married to the Duke of Devonshire, from whom it was necessary to conceal her grief, she being at that time in child-bed likewise; therefore she assumed a cheerful air, and with astonishing resolution agreeable to truth answered her anxious daughter's inquiries with these words—'I have seen your sister out of bed to-day.'

Then with remembrance to his sisters, and telling me how good and kind his wife had been to him, and that he should have been glad to have expressed himself to her, said something to me and my double kindness to his wife, and so died away. There seemed no reluctancy to leave this world, patient and easy the whole time, and I believe knew his danger, but loath to grieve those by him, delayed what he might have said. But why all this? The decree is past. I do not ask your prayers; I know you offer them with sincerity to our Almighty God for

Your afflicted kinswoman,
R. RUSSELL.

June, 1711.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been for some weeks often resolved, and as soon unresolved, if I would or would not engage upon a subject I cannot speak to without some emotion, but I cannot suffer your being a stranger to any that very near concerns me. Yet before I could dispose myself to do it, concluded the article not a secret to you, such care having by one side been taken, as to let it be a visiting day affair, whether or not the D. of R—— had not fixed a second choice? perhaps as proper to call it the first; for when marriages are so very early, it is accepting rather than choosing, on either side. But Lord R——, to the end of my good child's life, has so well approved of the choice, in all and every respect, and now that she is no more, has, with very deliberate consideration, as soon as he composed his mind to think, first taken care to inquire, and be truly informed what powers he had to do for his children: and then, by the strictest rules of justice and impartial kindness, settled every younger child's portion, by adding to what they had before. As it is to me the most solid instance of his respect and love he can now give to her memory, and being I believe it done with an honest sincerity, and true value of her, and all her virtues, I conceive it would be wrong in me to take offence at some circumstances the censorious part of the town will be sure to do, and refine upon for the sake of talk. I miss the hearing by seeing few, and not answering questions.*

The first notice I had of his intention was by Mr. Charlton, and I really believe that was as soon as he had given himself his own consent. He told me he found him under great unquietness, when he acquainted him with his thoughts, who said, he was under all the anxieties a man could feel how to break it to me, though it was then but a thought of his own, yet so much he would not conceal from me. Mr. Charlton undertook to tell me, and I did

* John Lord Roos (or Ross), afterward Duke of Rutland (whose first wife, Lady Russell's daughter, died Oct. 31, 1711) on Jan. 1, 1712-13, married Lucinda, sister to Bennet Sherard, Earl of Harborough.

as soon resolve to let it pass, as easy between him and me, as I could, by bidding Mr. Charlton let him know I would begin to him. I did so, which put us both in some disorder, but I believe he took, as I meant it, kindly.

A decency in time was all I expected. The person is sister to the present Lord Sherard; the other sister had been a widow to a Lord Erwin, and some years ago married a brother of the Duchess of Rutland, a Mr. Noel,* who has been a companion to his nephew ever since our sorrowful time. Here is a general opinion that the Lord St. John† is gone to Paris; some will suppose it is to try if the French King will come up to the terms the Dutch will accept.

August 5, 1712.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

The change of your secretary is much to the advantage of the reader; it would be so to you, I conclude, if I did not choose to be my own; but when I write as I do to you, the amusement is more agreeable to myself, and I assure myself you will make it so to you, if you can find what I mean to say; for I know I am exceeding apt to miss words I meant to put down. However, unless the business be of importance, I spare my eyes examining. As to the subject of my last, I will let it rest. As to the point of education I am sorry we are not of one mind; but there is no help where there is no remedy. There is an over-ruling Providence, and I try to hope her children shall be blessed. It was their good mother's thoughts under her hand, and though it might be thought her children would want her, yet her hope was, her prayers in their behalf had been heard. There is nothing yet appears blameable in them. Their father's indulgence may hurt in their best part, but as to the worldly part, if he is honestly dealt with in the drawing up of writings, he puts it out of his power to prevent any attempt for it. Let that be as it will, these accidents in families have been, and will no doubt be while the world lasts. And if we are so happy as to secure our next, and lasting stake, it matters little how this passes; yet flesh and blood shrinks at pain, and want of ease in body or mind, and it is natural to do so. Who can do otherwise, but by an affected force! and in that is no virtue: but I leave this; you want no admonitions. I want the practice, though my years are many.

Now, my Lord, I come to my neighbour Withers, as you call him. I know the persons of none of that name; if it be him at Alsford, he has been a commander, and may talk of taking and defending towns more knowingly than bargaining for lands; but I fancy it is another rather further from me, and the family more known to me an

* John Noel, brother to the Duchess of Rutland, married Elizabeth, eldest sister to Bennet Earl of Harborough, and widow of Edward Ingram, Viscount Irwin, in Scotland.

† Lord St. John, afterward Viscount Bolingbroke, famous for his share in the peace of Utrecht, &c.

hundred years ago. As to the warren, I do not value foxes as the gentleman does, but I do the beauty of our Warren; and for the value, you found he went but half way; but to cut that short, it is intailed, and I must leave it so. The warrener must be bribed, not me.

I am thankful to God I have made an end between Mr. Sp and myself, &c. Now as I am to answer for Mr. Sp who was an accountant to me, being employed by me so; there is this article between him and me, that if at any time there is a discovery of any money, or debt due to him, I have the title to it, and not he, let it be much or little.

After many offers and endeavours by council and without, I came to this agreement:—He was to make a clear and full discovery of all he is worth, lands, leases, moneys, goods, debts, &c. Then I, who was to have the whole in me, allow back to him what I think will be a subsistence to him, his wife and children. And so I have done. Swearing is what I desire to excuse; for it is possible he might be tempted to proceed in doing ill, and i not the better; and if he had sworn truth, as others professed they would not believe him, though I am less free in the professing of it, I might have doubted: then why provoke him to sin?

What has been urged to me over and over again, many times, has no force in it, which was, that they would undertake, and are sure he could conceal ten thousand pounds, which I should never discover, either in this nation or India. My answer is, If it cannot ever be found, it is to me as if it were not. And if I had any opinion of a conjurer (as we call them) I would not seek it that way. So what I approved best of, I chose.

That if a discovery be made out it is to my use. Now the farm he has from his father, which is 55*l.* a year, I could not come at, all council agreeing it to be out of the way: nay I must have had application to chancery to have proceeded: there he could have hung it up. Sir Joseph Jekyl said this, that there it might hang for a dozen of years, nay to the end of the youngest in the room, and Tom Selwood was one of the seven or eight; there were four council. Also, he said, he would not take five thousand pounds of me towards the charge I should be at. But all this avails not at all; nothing but prison, nay, dying on a dunghill has no ill sound. At last I gave no further trouble (after having endured so much myself) from the opinion of a great lawyer, though not now to be paid as council. After two hours discourse and laying all before him, he told me it was the most adviseable thing to compound the matter; and he esteemed it a very good composition, where they pretended to seven or eight thousand pounds from me, to pay me between two or three. He was so vehement in his opinion of making an end, that as a friend he prayed and exhorted me to set to it next morning; and if it were his case he would not sleep till it was done, if that were possible; for if he should happen to die, I could not imagine how bad my circumstances might be, even to the returning two thousand pounds I

had then received, and never be able to disprove his account, so be a debtor eight thousand pounds to his wife and children. This has given me many terrible waking hours from week to week, seeking to please and accommodate to my wishes; but they were not inclined to believe what they did not like; so took no impression, as I would think they did not believe it did in me; but I was no hypocrite; I felt more than I told. My mind is more at rest as to all my worldly concerns. Here I ask of Lord Galway.*

Saturday, August 16, 1712.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

I HAVE before me, my good Lord, two of your letters, both partially and tenderly kind, and coming from a sincere heart and honest mind (the last a plain word, but, if I mistake not, very significant), are very comfortable to me, who I hope have no proud thoughts of myself, as to any sort. The opinion of an esteemed friend, that one is not very wrong, assists to strengthen a weak and willing mind, to do her duty towards that Almighty Being, who has from infinite bounty and goodness so chequered my days on this earth, as I can thankfully reflect I have felt many, I may say many years of pure, and, I trust, innocent, pleasant content, and happy enjoyments as this world can afford, particularly that biggest blessing of loving and being loved by those I loved and respected; on earth no enjoyment certainly to be put in balance with it. All other are like wine, intoxicates for a time, but the end is bitterness, at least not profitable. Mr. Waller (whose picture you look upon) has, I long remember, these words—

All we know they do above,
Is, that they sing, and that they love.

The best news I have heard is, you have two good companions with you, which I trust will contribute to divert you this sharp season, when after so sore a fit, as I apprehend you have felt, the air, even of your improving pleasant garden, cannot be enjoyed without hazard.

The Queen has appointed twelfth-day for a drawing room, and several tables for play, but there was none till yesterday, and how that passed I know not.

I heard a lady say yesterday, that the Ambassador had turned away four servants for selling wine by bottles, and that she had tasted his burgundy, which was very good.†

* Conclusion in another paper not found.
† The conclusion and date lost.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

THERE is no post-day I do not find myself readily disposed to take my pen, and dispose of it as I now do; but there is not one of those days I do not also approve to myself, how mean my ability is to entertain, as I desire, such a relation and friend as Lord Galway; yet I put my mind at ease soon enough as to that trouble, being so certain and sure as I am how you receive it.

I should do better than I can yet attain to do, if I could with a more composed mind reflect on the good and bad days of a long life, and be thankful for so kind a providence as the freedom I have had from bodily pains, which so many better than I suffer; at this age I have attained there are few more exempt.

Selwood tells me your appearance is very comfortable, and if I get to Hampshire I trust I shall see it so. Sure this season is a trial; for although it is a customary thing to complain of seasons, yet in my opinion this is an extraordinary one: I have not wanted to observe (except while I enjoyed Lady Betty Norton's* company, who gave me much of her time) that from the first day of March to this, there hath not been twenty-four hours without much rain, snow, or hail. It keeps Lord Devon from Newmarket, which he expects would be of use if he could get thither. He is put into a coach, and is carried on the stones, but cannot use his feet to go; it is a melancholy sight to see a young man so seized, but his patience keeps an equality with his trials. A just measure of patience in all one suffers (I conclude yourself proves it very notoriously from a variety of instances) may it ever be a comfort in our best hours! and then how ravishing the great day of the Lord! the day of recompense! for such we are allowed to call it! Madame Governe's brother being dead, Madame may dispose of his wealth as she thinks good in France, &c.

R. RUSSELL.

April 14, 1715.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

†but the merciful providence of God it is our duty to pray for and trust in, then it shall be well in the end, in this world, or a better. I beseech God to give the consolation of his Holy Spirit to enable you to struggle with bodily pains: your resignation I have no doubt of; yet nature will shrink, when the weight is heavy, and presses hard; which will not be imputed, because it is natural.

* Daughter of Lord Gainsborough (by Elizabeth, sister to Lady Russell), married to —— Norton, Esq.

† Beginning lost.

I also pray to God to fortify your spirit under every trial; till eternity swallows all our troubles, all our sorrows, all our disappointments, and all our pains in this life. The longest, how short to eternity! All these ought to be my own care to improve my weak self, as the fortitude of your mind, experience, and knowledge, does to you. And I pray for such a portion of them in mercy to me, as may secure an endless glorifying, to so feeble, so ignorant, so mean a creature as myself, that I cannot be too little in my own sight.

If there be a regency, the intended journey to Chatsworth must be laid aside; as I must my pen for want of day.

I am certain of this being a truth, that I am faithfully and affectionately your's.

R. RUSSELL.

May 28, 1716.

BISHOP OF LITCHFIELD AND COVENTRY* TO LADY RUSSELL.

MADAM,

I SHOULD have done myself this honour long since, could I have had the vanity to think I knew any thing which would not come to your Ladyship by better hands; but you, Madam, have account of the most important matters from persons who cannot be deceived; and, I am sure, you are above the relish of those common things which supply the news and conversation of the town.

I cannot, however, leave this place (which purpose to do on Monday next) without presenting my most humble respects to your Ladyship, and my sincere prayers to Almighty God, for health and happiness to yourself and all yours.

I leave a place which is now pretty empty since the royal family went to Hampton-court, where the public manner in which the King lives, makes it the rendezvous, not only of the ministers and great men, but of the people of all ranks and conditions. He dines openly and with company every day, and the novelty of the sight draws a mighty concourse. After so long a reserve, we may easily imagine how great a constraint he puts upon himself; but he certainly does a right thing, for by this means his face (which speaks nothing but what is great and good) will not only be familiar to his people, but he will enter into a degree of intimacy with the nobility, above what could be arrived at in the cabinet or drawing room. Would to God it might prove the happy occasion of bringing him and the prince to a better understanding; for upon that

* John Hough, afterward called the good Bishop of Worcester, greatly promoted the Revolution; died March 8, 1743, aged above 92.

ELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

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R. RUSSELL.

THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Lady Anne Harvey* writes to me from Bath, that there was, at one o'clock at night, an earthquake which lasted a minute, but thankful she is she was asleep; it was about ten days past.

I am, my Lord, ever the same,

R. RUSSELL.

June 19.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

WHEN I scribble to Lord Galway, I consider very little what I put down, as I am secure, by God's grace, never to forfeit your love and esteem; and till I do that, have no fear I shall lose them; in that point my mind is at ease. I exceedingly desire your body were so; but the providences permitted by Almighty God can never be hurtful to his faithful servants, although painful. Alas! what are days, months, or years (to his elected), to a happy eternity! In such a thought your soul and heart may rejoice I verily believe; and so believe, as to desire I may find grace, as I believe you will do in the great day, when the sentence shall be pronounced.

I can truly grieve at the uneasiness in our court, which is all I will say, or can indeed for them. I have inquired from Dr. Sloane how the Prince is this day? He says, in a way to do well. I trust, in the mercy of our God, all our divisions shall be so with time. As I conclude you do not want my reports, so I enlarge not upon them; but take my way to Lady Essex,† where all must be hushed. She is a good woman, yet not without a but; and where is her that is not? Let every one look into his own heart. I like to scribble longer, but want of day-light at home, and disappointment abroad, make it convenient to sign, as I most sincerely do, affectionate to your service in every respect,

R. RUSSELL.

December 12.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

IT is to divert my own thoughts rather than yours I take a pen, for, as to reports, or rather unpleasing truths, I let them pass. The King and the good Princess met as she was going, or coming back from her dying child. Her conduct I hear none condemn; but who is there that never was faulty? or takes not a wrong step? My very long acquaintance, Lady Essex, is no longer in this world, but

* Daughter of Lady Russell's sister Montague. She was married first to Alexander Popham, Esq. and afterward to Lieut. Gen. Harvey.

† Widow of Arthur Earl of Essex: her daughter married the Earl of Carlisle.

not to be lamented in relation to herself, being certainly sincerely devout, in those points we ought to make our biggest care. She has done, I believe, prudently for her daughter, as circumstances stand. There is nothing delays Miss Hoskins changing her name, but the act of parliament, which now is thought necessary in all cases almost.*

Evening is creeping upon me, by a grand-child, who was willing to take her dinner with me, her sister having taken physic, and she not loving boiled chicken. To-morrow your health will not be omitted, daughter Devon and Mr. Charlton being to dine here; as I hope to do with yourself at Rookley, and also at Old Straton, where you will be kindly welcome, as I am entirely assured I shall be at your Rookley. God, for the good you do to mankind, grant you some easy years, to do good upon earth, before you change for an happy eternity. So does desire and pray, Lord Galway's truly affectionate cousin, and faithfully such, to gratify to the utmost of her ability.

R. RUSSELL.

February 13.

The two last letters appear, by the largeness of the text, to have been written without spectacles, as Lady Russell was sometimes accustomed to do in extreme old age.—Lady Russell died Sept. 29, 1723, in her 87th year.

COURAGE AND MILDNESS EXEMPLIFIED.

The following relation I had from my Lady Russell, in Southampton-house (now Bedford-house), where the accident happened. Her Ladyship's own words, to the best of my remembrance, were these:

'As I was reading in my closet, the door being bolted, on a sudden the candle and candlestick jumped off the table, a hissing fire ran on the floor, and after a short time left some paper in a flame, which with my foot I put into the chimney, to prevent mischief; then sat down in the dark to consider whence this event could come. I knew my doors and windows were fast, and there was no way open into the closet but by the chimney; and that something should come down there, and strike my candle off the table in that strange manner, I believed impossible. After I had wearied myself with thinking to no purpose, I rang my bell; the servant in waiting, when I told him what had

* The 4th year of Geo. I. an act for settling the estates of the Most Noble William Duke of Devonshire, and William Cavendish, commonly called Marquis of Hartington, son and heir apparent of the said Duke, on the marriage of the said Marquis of Hartington, with Catharine Hoskins, spinster, only child of John Hoskins, Esq. deceased.

happened, begged pardon for having by mistake given me a candle, with a gunpowder squib in it, which was intended to make sport among the fellow servants on a rejoicing day.'*

Her Ladyship bid him not be troubled at the matter, for she had no other concern about it than that of not finding out the cause.

THO. SELWOOD.

* In the reign of King William III.

THE END.

Printed by J. F. DOVE, St. John's Square.

as soon resolve to let it pass, as easy between him and me, as I could, by bidding Mr. Charlton let him know I would begin to him. I did so, which put us both in some disorder, but I believe he took, as I meant it, kindly.

A decency in time was all I expected. The person is sister to the present Lord Sherard; the other sister had been a widow to a Lord Erwin, and some years ago married a brother of the Duchess of Rutland, a Mr. Noel,* who has been a companion to his nephew ever since our sorrowful time. Here is a general opinion that the Lord St. John† is gone to Paris; some will suppose it is to try if the French King will come up to the terms the Dutch will accept.

August 5, 1712.

LADY RUSSELL TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

THE change of your secretary is much to the advantage of the reader; it would be so to you, I conclude, if I did not choose to be my own; but when I write as I do to you, the amusement is more agreeable to myself, and I assure myself you will make it so to you, if you can find what I mean to say; for I know I am exceeding apt to miss words I meant to put down. However, unless the business be of importance, I spare my eyes examining. As to the subject of my last, I will let it rest. As to the point of education I am sorry we are not of one mind; but there is no help where there is no remedy. There is an over-ruling Providence, and I try to hope her children shall be blessed. It was their good mother's thoughts under her hand, and though it might be thought her children would want her, yet her hope was, her prayers in their behalf had been heard. There is nothing yet appears blameable in them. Their father's indulgence may hurt in their best part, but as to the worldly part, if he is honestly dealt with in the drawing up of writings, he puts it out of his power to prevent any attempt for it. Let that be as it will, these accidents in families have been, and will no doubt be while the world lasts. And if we are so happy as to secure our next, and lasting stake, it matters little how this passes; yet flesh and blood shrinks at pain, and want of ease in body or mind, and it is natural to do so. Who can do otherwise, but by an affected force? and in that is no virtue: but I leave this; you want no admonitions. I want the practice, though my years are many.

Now, my Lord, I come to my neighbour Withers, as you call him. I know the persons of none of that name; if it be him at Alsford, he has been a commander, and may talk of taking and defending towns more knowingly than bargaining for lands; but I fancy it is another rather further from me, and the family more known to me an

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hundred years ago. As to the warren, I do not value foxes as the gentleman does, but I do the beauty of our Warren; and for the value, you found he went but half way; but to cut that short, it is intailed, and I must leave it so. The warrener must be bribed, not me.

I am thankful to God I have made an end between Mr. Sp and myself, &c. Now as I am to answer for Mr. Sp who was an accountant to me, being employed by me so; there is this article between him and me, that if at any time there is a discovery of any money, or debt due to him, I have the title to it, and not he, let it be much or little.

After many offers and endeavours by council and without, I came to this agreement:—He was to make a clear and full discovery of all he is worth, lands, leases, moneys, goods, debts, &c. Then I, who was to have the whole in me, allow back to him what I think will be a subsistence to him, his wife and children. And so I have done. Swearing is what I desire to excuse; for it is possible he might be tempted to proceed in doing ill, and I not the better; and if he had sworn truth, as others professed they would not believe him, though I am less free in the professing of it, I might have doubted: then why provoke him to sin?

What has been urged to me over and over again, many times, has no force in it, which was, that they would undertake, and are sure he could conceal ten thousand pounds, which I should never discover, either in this nation or India. My answer is, If it cannot ever be found, it is to me as if it were not. And if I had any opinion of a conjurer (as we call them) I would not seek it that way. So what I approved best of, I chose.

That if a discovery be made out it is to my use. Now the farm he has from his father, which is 55*l.* a year, I could not come at, all council agreeing it to be out of the way: nay I must have had application to chancery to have proceeded: there he could have hung it up. Sir Joseph Jekyl said this, that there it might hang for a dozen of years, nay to the end of the youngest in the room, and Tom Selwood was one of the seven or eight; there were four council. Also, he said, he would not take five thousand pounds of me towards the charge I should be at. But all this avails not at all; nothing but prison, nay, dying on a dunghill has no ill sound. At last I gave no further trouble (after having endured so much myself) from the opinion of a great lawyer, though not now to be paid as council. After two hours discourse and laying all before him, he told me it was the most adviseable thing to compound the matter; and he esteemed it a very good composition, where they pretended to seven or eight thousand pounds from me, to pay me between two or three. He was so vehement in his opinion of making an end, that as a friend he prayed and exhorted me to set to it next morning; and if it were his case he would not sleep till it was done, if that were possible; for if he should happen to die, I could not imagine how bad my circumstances might be, even to the returning two thousand pounds I

as soon resolve to let it pass, as easy between him and me, as I could, by bidding Mr. Charlton let him know I would begin to him. I did so, which put us both in some disorder, but I believe he took, as I meant it, kindly.

A decency in time was all I expected. The person is sister to the present Lord Sherard; the other sister had been a widow to a Lord Erwin, and some years ago married a brother of the Duchess of Rutland, a Mr. Noel,* who has been a companion to his nephew ever since our sorrowful time. Here is a general opinion that the Lord St. John† is gone to Paris; some will suppose it is to try if the French King will come up to the terms the Dutch will accept.

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